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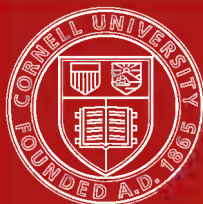
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THE
NEW BIBLE COMMENTARY
CRITICALLY EXAMINED.

LONDON : PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE.
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

THE
NEW BIBLE COMMENTARY

BY BISHOPS AND OTHER CLERGY

OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

CRITICALLY EXAMINED

BY THE RIGHT REV.

JOHN WILLIAM COLENZO, D.D.

BISHOP OF NATAL.

'We can do nothing against the Truth, but for the Truth.'—*St. Paul*, 2 Cor. xiii.

'Not to exceed, and not to fall short of, facts,—not to add, and not to take away,—to state the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,—are the grand, the vital, maxims of Inductive Science, of English Law, and, let us add, of Christian Faith.'—*Quarterly Review*, on 'Essays and Reviews,' Oct. 1861, p. 369.

PART IV.

INTRODUCTION TO NUMBERS.

THE BOOK OF NUMBERS.

LONDON:

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

1873.

PREFACE.

THE following is the notice appended to the Introduction to Numbers in this Commentary :—

The Book of Numbers was allotted in the early arrangements for this Commentary to the Rev. J. F. Thrupp, M.A., Vicar of Barrington, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Mr. Thrupp was one of the first to send to the Editor the results of his labours, but died in 1867, before his work could be revised and adjusted with that of his colleagues. His papers on this book were most considerably placed by his representatives at the disposal of the Editor, and were by him intrusted to the Rev. T. E. Espin to be prepared for the press. As the work proceeded, it was found necessary to change and remodel the notes as left by Mr. Thrupp far more than was originally proposed, and ultimately to rewrite the most of them. The scale eventually adopted for the foot-notes was much smaller than that on which Mr. Thrupp had worked; and the conclusions finally reached were upon several controverted points (*e.g.* the site of Kadesh) different from those which had recommended themselves to Mr. Thrupp five or six years ago. The Rev. T. E. Espin must, therefore, with the Editor, be regarded as responsible for the notes on Numbers contained in this volume, though in writing them he has had throughout important aid from Mr. Thrupp's copious and learned annotations. The chief portions which now remain as Mr. Thrupp penned them are portions of the foot-notes to ch.xxii-xxv, and many of the geographical and topographical remarks and illustrations, especially those in ch.xxxiv.

Under the circumstances above described it is impossible to assign with certainty the annotations in this Part of the work to their proper authors; though anyone acquainted with the style of Canon Cook's comments upon E.i-xix may without much hesitation pronounce as to the parentage of some of

them. I have therefore referred them generally to Mr. ESPIN as the chief commentator. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that no account is given us of Mr. THRUPP's views where he differs from those maintained in this Commentary, *e.g.* as to the site of Kadesh, a very important and interesting question—whether, for instance, he agreed with Dean STANLEY in identifying it with Petra, and whether he regarded it as a different place from Kadesh-Barnea (*Num.* 53). It would not probably have detracted from whatever merit this work possesses, if Mr. THRUPP's reasons for adopting a different view from that 'eventually adopted' by his colleagues on this controverted point of the site of Kadesh had been set forth as well as their own, which are not at all convincing—more especially as the 'adjusting' hand of the Editor has not been able to eliminate all signs of variance between the views of the different writers engaged in the preparation of this volume, or to prevent them occasionally contradicting their own former statements. (*Num.* 31, 36, 55, 77, 86, 139, 152.)

As in the former portions of this Commentary, so in this, there is not a single trace of acquaintance with the fact that the later post-Captivity origin of some parts of this book—'more than three-fourths' (VI. 125)—has been pointed out for some years past by eminent critics, such as REUSS, GRAF, KUENEN, and maintained by a series of powerful arguments, deserving at least careful consideration on the part of writers who have undertaken to give—

in a concise and readable form, the results of learned investigations carried on in this and other countries during the last half-century *Adv.*—

and to supply a Commentary—

in which the *latest* information might be made accessible to men of ordinary culture.—*Pref.*

Nor in the whole of this Part is there a single attempt to discuss the evidence as to the question of composite authorship, which is yielded by a close study of the style and phraseology of different sections of the Book of Numbers. And yet for all these matters there would have been abundance of room, if so much had not been occupied—55 pages out of 135—in merely reprinting the Authorized Version, accessible to any reader in an ordinary English Bible.

There is, of course, a good deal of geographical information to be found in the notes, for which probably they are chiefly indebted to the labours of Mr. THURPP. But I am obliged to say that for evasive and shallow reasonings in support of traditional views, and the total absence of any signs of effort or (apparently) desire on the part of the writers to ascertain by careful study for themselves, and set forth before others, the real truth as to the origin and composition of the Pentateuch, this Part stands on quite as low a level as any of the preceding ones.* I say ‘as a whole,’ because there are a few expressions, which, like those of Mr. CLARK on Leviticus, betray a secret feeling that after all *Moses*—not *Jehovah*—is the legislator in the Pentateuch; so that, when the text says, ‘Jehovah spake unto

* Those who cannot afford time to read through the following criticisms may be referred to (141), or more generally—

(i) For instances of *weak, fallacious* reasoning, see *Intr.* 2, 3, 7, 8, *Num.* 1–4, 6, 7, 18, 20, 21, 27, 48, 67, 77, 80, 82, 83, 85, 86, 88, 92, 98, 99, 108–112, 116, 124, 127, 136, 137, 139, 152;

(ii) For instances of *evasive* reasoning, see *Num.* 10, 11, 14, 22, 24, 28–33, 38, 39, 45, 63, 66, 70, 76, 121, 128, 129, 133;

(iii) For instances of *uncritical* reasoning, see *Intr.* 9, 13, *Num.* 35, 36, 53, 55, 57, 59, 84, 87, 89, 91, 96, 106, 121;

(iv) For instances confirming, directly or indirectly, the results arrived at in my work on the Pentateuch, see *Intr.* 10, 11, *Num.* 5, 15, 17, 28, 47, 52, 55, 61, 65, 68, 95, 97, 101, 107, 114, 115, 125, 126, 134, 138, 144, 153.

Moses,' it is not meant that Jehovah communicated orally such revelations to Moses, as the Scripture in L.i.1, N.vii.89, clearly implies, but only that Moses wrote these laws out of his own mind, inspired, as he and others believed—and believed rightly, say these Commentators—by the Divine Spirit.

It is true indeed that the Commentator here, as before in Leviticus, is not always consistent with his own theory. He says, for instance—

This seems implied . . . by the ground *which God is pleased to assign* (N.iii.13, viii.17) for making this claim, p.664—

A formula is *provided by God Himself*, p.673—

The office of Moses, of the Priests, and finally of the Levites, was to interpose after rules and limits *laid down by God Himself* between Him and the people, p.680—

A special *command of God* is given to meet the case. p.681.

The trumpets were now first *appointed by God*. p.684.

God speaks to them (Moses and Aaron) while giving judgment upon the evil congregation. p.702.

It appears from the next verse and from *God's words in v.11, &c.* p.750.

But these are only flashes of orthodoxy, which may perhaps satisfy the eyes of the ordinary traditionary reader. When we examine the work more closely we find a very different style prevailing as the usual *tone* of the Commentary.

The Legislation of Sinai was completed in Leviticus; but the prolonged exclusion of the people from their future homes [N.B. only after N.xiv] involved some regulations not originally provided . . . and further experience suggested [to whom? to Jehovah or Moses?] some others of a supplementary or explanatory character. p.651.

This, then, like *several other ordinances*, was *adopted by Moses* from existing and probably very ancient and widely spread institutions, p.669—*viz.* v.11–31, introduced with the words, 'And Jehovah spake unto Moses saying,' v.11.

A special interposition of God, such as is promised so continually as the ultimate sanction of *all the precepts of Moses*. p.670.

The licence of divorce tolerated by the *Law of Moses*. p.670.

The trial by Red Water, which bears a general resemblance to that here *prescribed by Moses*. p.670.

There is no evidence to show whether this usage (among the tribes of Western Africa) sprang from imitation of the *Law of Moses*, or whether *Moses himself* in this, as in other things, *engrafted his ordinance upon a previously existing custom*, p.670—viz. V.11-31, as above.

Moses does not expressly require that limits should be assigned to the vow, p.672—viz. the vow of the Nazarites, introduced by the words, 'And Jehovah spake unto Moses,' v.1.

The administrators of the Law of Moses would here, as elsewhere, have, from the nature of the case, power to order what might be requisite to carry the Law into effect, p.682—in other words, they would have power to modify the 'Law of Jehovah,' as the Scripture represents it.

Moses, then, adopted, here as elsewhere, existing and ancient customs, with significant additions, as helps in the education of his people, p.717—viz. ch.xix, introduced by the words, 'And Jehovah spake unto Moses and unto Aaron,' v.1.

Their practice hitherto would naturally betray itself in *the language now employed by Moses*, p.760—viz. xxviii.3-8, introduced by the words 'And Jehovah spake unto Moses,' v.1.

It is plain, therefore, what the Commentators really mean when they speak, as in some of the above instances, of 'the precepts of Moses,' 'the Mosaic Law,' 'the Law of Moses,' of what is 'peculiar to the Mosaic Law,' p.717, of 'the true meaning of the Mosaic Law,' p.762—expressions which might, of course, be used by writers maintaining the traditionary view in speaking of laws revealed by Jehovah orally and written down by Moses. But this is not what the Commentators mean when they use the above phraseology. Nay, they almost exclude the idea of any direct Divine Revelation of any kind in the matter—other than such influences from above as may be believed to guide and overrule the wise and good legislators of all ages—when they speak of Moses 'adopting ordinances from existing institutions, as helps in the education of his people,' 'engrafting his ordinance upon a previously existing custom,' 'betraying the practice hitherto in the language now employed by him.'

Thus far, at all events, these writers have gone, under the patronage of the Archbishops and Bishops of England, in helping to demolish the popular traditionary view as to the nature of the revelations made to Moses.

J. W. NATAL.

BISHOPSTOWE, NATAL.

* * Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* is quoted below as *D.B.* The different Parts of my work on the Pentateuch are quoted as (I.57), (VI.43), &c.

It may be well to mention here that—

In Part III, I have fixed the age of the *Deuteronomist*—who may possibly be Jeremiah—in the first years of king Josiah.

In Part V, I have separated the passages due to the different writers in Genesis, have determined approximately the ages of these writers, *viz.* the *Elohist* (E.) in the days of Samuel, the *Second Elohist* (E₂) in the beginning of David's reign, the *Jehovist* (J.) in David's reign and the first part of Solomon's.

In Part VI (just published), I have shown that all Leviticus and large portions of Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua, with a few passages of Deuteronomy, were written after the Captivity, and I have included these under the designation of the *Later or Levitical Legislation* (L.L.); and I have further separated throughout Exodus—Joshua the portions due to the different authors, Elohist, Jehovist, Deuteronomist, and Later Legislator, giving at full length the *Original Story* of the Exodus (O.S.), as it came into the hands of the Deuteronomist.

CONTENTS.



	PAGE
PREFACE	v
INTRODUCTION TO NUMBERS	3
THE BOOK OF NUMBERS	15

HE WHO PROPAGATES A DELUSION, AND HE WHO CONNIVES AT IT WHEN ALREADY EXISTING, BOTH ALIKE TAMPER WITH TRUTH. WE MUST NEITHER LEAD NOR LEAVE MEN TO MISTAKE FALSEHOOD FOR TRUTH. NOT TO UNDECEIVE, IS TO DECEIVE. THE GIVING, OR NOT CORRECTING, FALSE REASONS FOR RIGHT CONCLUSIONS, FALSE GROUNDS FOR RIGHT BELIEF, FALSE PRINCIPLES FOR RIGHT PRACTICE—THE HOLDING FORTH, OR FOSTERING, FALSE CONSOLATIONS, FALSE ENCOURAGEMENTS, OR FALSE SANCTIONS, OR CONNIVING AT THEIR BEING HELD FORTH OR BELIEVED—ARE ALL PIOUS FRAUDS. THIS SPRINGS FROM, AND IT WILL FOSTER AND INCREASE, A WANT OF VENERATION FOR TRUTH: IT IS AN AFFRONT PUT ON THE ‘SPIRIT OF TRUTH,’—Archbishop WHATELY, on *Bacon's Essays*, p.10.

INTRODUCTION TO NUMBERS.

REV. T. E. ESPIN, B.D.

INTRODUCTION TO NUMBERS.

1. Mr.ESPIN says:—

In common with the preceding books and Deuteronomy, Numbers has usually and from the most ancient times been regarded as, in substance at least, the work of Moses. The grounds for still retaining this opinion as regards the Pentateuch generally have been stated and discussed in the Introduction to this volume. It remains only to inquire here whether the Book of Numbers, particularly considered, contributes any items to the argument on the one side or the other, and what value is to be attached to them. *p.650.*

We have already seen (*Intr. to Gen. 4–21*) how worthless are the ‘grounds,’ which Bp.BROWNE alleges in the Introduction to this volume, ‘for still retaining the above opinion as regards the Pentateuch generally,’ and have concluded that ‘Bp. BROWNE has not produced a particle of trustworthy evidence, from the time of the Judges down to the Captivity, which shows that the Five Books of Moses even existed, nor has he attempted to show, by testimony however fallacious, that *Moses did write the books now known by his name*, which is what he undertook to prove.’

We are ready, however, to consider carefully the evidence which Mr.ESPIN will now produce from the Book of Numbers, ‘contributing to the argument on the one side or the other.’

2. Mr.ESPIN’s first piece of evidence is as follows:—

The catalogue of the stations or encampments during the journeyings from Egypt to the plains of Moab (xxxiii) is specially assigned to Moses in the text, ‘Moses wrote it by the commandment of the Lord,’ *v.2*. The great antiquity of this catalogue is universally admitted. Bleek esteems it ‘perhaps the earliest

record relating to the journey of the Israelites through the wilderness,' and as 'a list which may very well have been written down by an actor in the events.' But to admit thus much of one important chapter, so minute in details, and so intimately connected with the general story, establishes a strong probability that other portions of the book are of the same age and authorship. *p.651.*

Mr.ESPIN's conclusion may be readily admitted if only he were certain of his premisses. 'The great antiquity' of the whole Levitical Legislation was till of late years generally admitted, and was especially maintained by BLEEK, though he felt compelled by the facts before him to abandon the view, which he also once maintained, as to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch generally, and to admit that more than one author has been concerned in its composition, and that portions of it, and especially almost the whole of Deuteronomy, are of much later date than the time of Moses. (*Einl. in d. A. T.*, 2nd Ed., *p.207*, &c.) The opinion of BLEEK, therefore, who assigns to Moses the laws of Leviticus, which have been shown in Part VI, as also in Part III, of this series of criticisms, to be the work of a very late age, can have little weight in helping to decide the present question. In (VI.App.34) is given an analysis of N.xxxiii, from which it will be seen that it clearly belongs to the L.L., and thus the ground of Mr.ESPIN's whole argument is cut away.

3. Mr.ESPIN's second point is as follows :—

The Legislation of Sinai was completed in Leviticus; but the prolonged exclusion of the people from their future homes involved some regulations not originally provided, *e.g.* those respecting purification, 'when a man dieth in a tent,' xix.14; and further experience suggested some others of a supplementary or explanatory character. These are almost always in this book recorded in a living connexion with incidents from which it is wholly impossible to sever them, from which they draw their occasion and their meaning. Evidently the alternations of historical and legislative portions reflect the order of actual transaction. This feature is exactly one which belongs to the work of a contemporary annalist. *p.651.*

But we find the same 'alternations' in L.x, xxiv.10, &c., which passages belong to the L.L., the last especially showing

a clear sign of a very late age in the use of 'the Name' for 'Jehovah' (*Lev.* 50). But *xv.1-xix.22*, according to Mr. ESPIN, is—

a notice of various occurrences and enactments belonging to the 38 years of penal wandering in the desert. *p.649.*

And it must seem very strange that with such an immense population the regulation in *N.xix.14*, 'This is the law when a man dieth in a tent—all that come into the tent, and all that is in the tent, shall be unclean seven days,' and, indeed, the whole series of directions in *xix.11-14*, about contact with a corpse, should not have been required at an earlier period—more especially as corresponding laws are already laid down about contact with the carcase of an unclean animal, *L.xi.24-28, 31-40*, and in *L.xxi.1, N.v.2, vi.6-12*, it is recognized that such contact with, or even near approach to, a corpse is 'defiling.'

No doubt, the Legislation in Numbers 'supplements' in many places that in Leviticus; and therefore, like the latter, it must belong to the L.L.

4. Mr. ESPIN's third argument is derived from the writer's 'intimate acquaintance with Egypt.'

The purifications of the priests, *viii.7*, &c.—the trial of jealousy, *v.11-31*—the ordinance of the red heifer, *xix.1-10*—are all adaptations from Egyptian rites; the language of the people in *xi.5,6*, bespeaks a personal relish of Egyptian dainties; the antiquarian note about Hebron, *xiii.22*, indicates a knowledge of Egyptian history. References to the exodus from Egypt and the circumstances of it are frequent. *p.651.*

I must refer to (*Intr. to Pent. 22,23, Intr. to Ex. 9*) in this series for a full reply to the above argument. Here I will only remark that it is hardly consistent with 'orthodox' views, to suppose that the above laws were merely copied from the idolatrous practices of Egypt, instead of having been communicated to Moses by direct Divine revelation, 'Jehovah spake unto Moses (and unto Aaron),' *viii.5, v.11, xix.1*. But

Mr.ESPIN, like Mr.CLARK (*Intr. to Lev. 4*) regards *Moses*, not *Jehovah*, as the legislator in these instances and generally throughout the Pentateuch.

5. Mr.ESPIN's fourth argument is as follows :—

The statements of this book abound in evidences that the writer and those with whom he lived were still in the desert.

And he instances the note in xix.14, about 'a man dying in a tent,' quoted above in (3), the 'regulations for encamping and marching,' the 'solemn invocation of Moses in x.35,36,' at the moving and resting of the Ark, and the 'directions respecting the transport of the Tabernacle.'

It is obvious also that proximity to the Tabernacle is tacitly assumed throughout such laws as those of N.vi and N.xix, as it is in many of those given in Leviticus. This proximity existed only whilst the people were in the wilderness. The presence of the Ark in the Tabernacle too is presupposed throughout the book; but the Ark, after its capture by the Philistines in the days of Eli, never again had a place within the Tabernacle. It is obviously to be inferred that Numbers was written before that capture. p.651.

The above also only repeats the argument of Bp.BROWNE which has been already discussed and answered in (*Intr. to Pent. 24*). Of course an author, professing to give an account (whether true or fictitious) of what passed in the wilderness, must refer to the wilderness, and *might* write as an eyewitness. But in the instances referred to by Mr.ESPIN there is nothing whatever to show that the author of this book wrote as one present at the scenes he describes, much less as the prime agent in them.

On our view (VI.574, VII.124), the ark captured in the days of Eli, though a very ancient ark and probably made in the wilderness, was not the (so-called) *Mosaic* Ark, which never existed except in imagination, any more than the *Mosaic* Tabernacle.

6. The following is Mr.ESPIN's fifth argument :—

There are topographical statements in the book which cannot have been written after the days of Moses.

(i) Such is the notice in xxi.13, that 'Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites.' The Amorites had clearly not been dispossessed by the two tribes and a half (xxxii) when this remark was made.

(ii) So, too, the settlements of those tribes in the Amorite territory were not in fact adjusted in all respects as originally designed by Moses and described in xxxii.34, &c. A later narrator would surely not gratuitously vary in such details from the facts before him.

(iii) In the delineation (xxxiv) of the boundaries of the Promised Land far more territory is assigned to the Israelites than they ever permanently occupied, and less than they occasionally ruled over. A historian of later times would hardly ascribe to his people, without explanation or qualification, districts which in fact they did not possess; a romancer of such times, drawing an imaginary frontier, would certainly not have left out of it the renowned city of Damascus, especially after carrying his border-line almost round this district, and in view of the fact that the city and its territory were in the dominions of David and Solomon, and afterwards of Jeroboam II. p.651.

Ans. (i) In xxi.13 'the Amorite' is used by the O.S. with reference to the *former* occupant of the territory, just as in Ju.x.8 we read of 'all the children of Israel that were across the Jordan in the land of the Amorite.' According to Mr.ESPIN, Moses must have noted down the passage of the Arnon immediately after it had taken place, v.13-15, before making the conquest of Sihon and Og, v.21, &c., and never corrected his expression.

(ii) This refers to the fact that some towns of Gad in N.xxxii.34, *e.g.* Aroer, Dibon, are reckoned to Reuben in J.xiii.16,17, whereas Heshbon, the most northerly city of Reuben, in N.xxxii.37, J.xiii.17, is reckoned to Gad in J.xiii.26. But these phenomena only show that, at the time when these notices were written (the age of David, as we suppose), the boundaries of the different tribes were very loosely defined or imperfectly known, except those of Judah and Benjamin (VI.528-9).

(iii) KEIL (II. p.368-371) has shown that the view adopted in this Commentary and here referred to, that the writer has 'carried his border-line almost round the district' of Damascus, 'thus forming a great north-eastward loop, so as to include all the declivities, both western and eastern, of the northern part of the Anti-Libanus range,' reaching to a place 'forty miles north-east of Damascus,' according to this Commentary, p.782, is utterly untenable, and thus Mr.ESPIN's argument, based upon the omission of Damascus under the circumstances in question, comes to the ground. Why should Damascus be mentioned, and not Edom, Moab, Ammon, or even the Trans-Jordanic territories?

The boundaries of the land of Canaan in xxxiv are laid down by the L.L. after the Captivity, *comp.* Ez.xlvii.15-21, in accordance with the

notions then entertained as to the proper extent of the Promised Land, except the south border, which is apparently copied from the south border of Judah in the O.S., J.xv.1-4.

7. Mr.ESPIN's sixth argument is as follows :—

The various communications purporting to be from God to Moses are so worded and often of such a nature, that, unless we go the length of denying their historical character altogether, we must admit them to have been recorded by the very person who received them. They are also so interwoven with the historical and legislative elements of the book that the whole composition must in reason be accepted or rejected together. *p.652.*

We do 'go the length of denying the historical character' of these supposed Divine 'communications,' and of the 'historical and legislative elements of the book' altogether.

8. Mr.ESPIN now produces his final argument :—

No other person than Moses has been or *can be* (!) named with anything like probability, or even plausibility, as the author. Various conjectures have indeed been hazarded by rationalist critics; but all of them are devoid of evidence, and some of them particularly unlikely, such as *e.g.* the suggestion that Samuel wrote this book, which includes among its most striking features the rebellion of Korah. Now Samuel was descended from Korah, and it is incredible, especially when we remember how keenly the Jew appropriates the acts of his ancestors, that Samuel if we could suppose him to invent a story at all, would devise one which represents his own forefathers and their kinsmen as flagrant rebels against God and against the great national hero, God's prophet, and as miraculously destroyed for their sin. *p.652.*

I have not the least idea to whom reference is here made as having suggested that *Samuel* was the writer of the book of Numbers. Nor have I ever met with this suggestion in my own critical studies. It is, of course, a totally different thing to say—as I have said (V.131-5)—that there are strong arguments tending to show that Samuel may have written the Elohistie Narrative in Genesis. In Part VI I have given abundant reason for concluding confidently that, while certain portions of Numbers belong to the Original Story, as left by the Jehovistic writer or writers, 'more than three-fourths of the whole book belong to the L.L.' (VI.125).

9. We have thus seen that there is no real foundation for the statement that—

the notes of time, the tenor of the contents, no less than the direct assertions of the text itself, converge upon the conclusion that Moses is properly spoken of as the writer of the book of Numbers. p.652.

But Mr.ESPIN proceeds then to make the following concessions :—

It may, however, be quite consistently allowed that Moses availed himself in some cases of pre-existing materials, whether documentary or traditional, and combined in his narrative the results of information obtained from others. And this fact is a sufficient explanation of the use in certain passages of words or groups of words and grammatical forms, which are not found, or found but rarely, in other parts of the book. Nor is there any reason to believe that Moses wrote at one time the whole of what he may have himself contributed to this book. On the contrary, it seems in part to be composed out of memoranda, originally made at intervals ranging over thirty-eight years. If, then, the style and diction are found to vary in different parts of the book, this by no means disproves the unity of its authorship. The same writer may write very differently at different dates. The phenomena of this kind in Numbers are not, however, of great importance. p.652.

On the contrary, ‘the phenomena of this kind in Numbers’ are of very considerable importance, as is clearly shown by the Analysis in Part VI, three-fourths of the book being remarkably distinguished from the rest by the use of ‘words or groups of words and grammatical forms,’ which—strange to say—appear again, after the account of Moses’ death, in a large portion of the book of *Joshua*, as well as in large sections of *Exodus* and throughout the whole of *Leviticus*, supposed to have been written at a very early period of the wanderings. These can hardly therefore be accounted for by the fact that ‘the same writer may write differently at different dates.’

10. A still more important admission is the following:—

It is likely indeed that this book, as others, underwent after it left the hands of its composer a revision or perhaps more than one revision, in which, here and there, later elements were introduced. *These indeed cannot have been of great bulk*, and some passages have been quoted as instances, which may well be otherwise explained. p.653.

Of course, the above accords fully with our own view, except as regards the 'bulk' of these 'later elements,' which have been introduced into the original book. At the same time, it is hardly consistent with the popular traditionary notion, as to the composition of this book—more especially if these interpolations are supposed to comprise prescriptions, which originated in a later age, but are here falsely represented as having been revealed by Jehovah to Moses.

11. Again Mr.ESPIN writes as follows :—

The indications of interpolation in xiii, xiv, and xvi are of another kind and more convincing. It seems apparent that xiv.39 connects itself not with v.38, but with v.25 of that chapter; and we notice in certain groups of verses included in the chapters xiii and xiv that Caleb only is named as labouring to still the people, whilst in other groups Joshua is combined with him. In the former, too, Caleb is mentioned without the addition of his father's name; in the latter we have always 'Caleb the son of Jephunneh,' as well as 'Joshua the son of Nun.' These facts, as well as the repetitions and want of consecutiveness apparent in the chapters as they stand, render it likely that a later and independent, but not inconsistent, account has been interwoven with the earlier one. The passages introducing the name of Joshua would seem to be the inserted ones, and they were added perhaps for the purpose of putting on express record what would seem to have been tacitly assumed in the original narrative, that Joshua, Moses' chosen attendant and successor, was not one of the murmurers.

On the tokens of supplementary insertion in xvi see note at end of that chapter.

N.xxxii presents some similar characteristics to xiii and xiv. . . . But the alleged traces of interpolation here are not demonstrative. p.653.

Here again Mr.ESPIN's view agrees entirely with that expressed in (VI.97,100,117-123), though he ascribes these later interpolations to a comparatively early age, 'either by Joshua or under his superintendence,' p.702, whereas they are shown by the Analyses in Part VI to belong to the L.L.

12. Further Mr.ESPIN observes :—

Great stress has been laid upon the citation in xxi.14 of 'the book of the wars of the Lord.' Critics have pronounced it incredible that such a work should be extant in the days of Moses, and have alleged further that the chapter quotes it as belonging to bygone times. But in the months which closed Moses' life, when

great events succeeded each other rapidly, and scenes and circumstances were ever changing, the songs commemorative of Israel's triumphs would soon become historical. Moreover 'the book of the wars of the Lord' would probably commence with His noble works done in Egypt for the fathers of those who vanquished Sihon and Og. p.653.

On our view (VI.109,110), the insertions in xxi.14,15, from 'the Book of the Wars of Jehovah,' and in v.27-30, from some ancient lay or ballad, were most probably inserted by a later hand, since the original writer—at all events if he was Moses—would hardly have thought it necessary to back-up or illustrate his historical statements by such references. And inasmuch as Jer.xlviii.45,46, contains expressions almost identically the same as those which occur in N.xxi.28,29, xxiv.17 (VI.App.24, N.B.), it is possible that these insertions were made by Jeremiah (on our view the Deuteronomist, who has also revised and re-touched the Original Story). But this would certainly be no argument whatever against the Mosaic origin of the book of Numbers generally.

13. Lastly, Mr.ESPIN writes as follows :—

Again, it has been urged that the occurrence of the word *prophet* and its cognate verb in this book is a sign of a later date than that of Moses, because we are told in 1S.ix.9, 'He that is now called a Prophet was beforetime called a Seer.' It is hence inferred that Numbers must have been written at a period later than that indicated by the 'now' of the Book of Samuel, since the term 'prophet' is evidently familiar to the writer.

But this argument is based upon a misapprehension of the passage in 1Sam. It is not asserted there that the word 'prophet (*nabhi*)' was *unknown* in earlier times, but simply that the personage consulted by the people in their emergencies was, after the days of Samuel, known as the 'prophet,' whereas formerly he was called the 'seer.' . . . The reason why the term 'prophet' was *disused* in the days of the later Judges may be inferred from what is said in 1S.iii.1—'the word of the Lord was precious in those days.' In other words, there was no 'prophet' properly so called—no one who spoke under direct inspiration and supernatural impulse; nor, apparently, had there been any such since Deborah, *i.e.* for about a century and a half. Hence the people naturally ceased to speak of the 'prophet,' and called those to whom they resorted for advice by the name of 'seer,' which does not imply any miraculous gift, but simply superior penetration and intelli-

gence. . . . With Samuel the prophetic order was restored, and perpetuated through 'the schools of the prophets.' And the members of this higher and more gifted order often, probably generally, discharged in addition to their proper functions those also which previously had devolved upon the 'seer.' Hence the latter, both in name and person, ceased to occupy the prominent position he had long enjoyed, and was accordingly less frequently mentioned. In fact, after the days of Samuel the word 'seer' occurs only twice, viz. in 2S.xv.27, 2Ch.xvi.7-10. The term 'prophet,' on the contrary, became common and colloquial. But it was not now first coined. It only regained the currency which it had had in the days of Moses (E.vii.1) and even in earlier times (G.xx.7). p.654.

Mr. ESPIN's explanation of 1S.ix.9 is far-fetched and unnatural; and his statement is not correct that 'after the days of Samuel the word *seer* occurs only twice'; it is found also in 1S.xxx.10. It is plain that 'Hanani the *seer*' in 2Ch.xvi.7 belongs to the same class as 'Shemaiah the *prophet*,' xii.5,15, 'Iddo the *prophet*,' xiii.22, 'Oded the *prophet*,' xv.8; and in 1Ch.xxix.29 three synonymous words are used, 'Samuel the *seer*, Nathan the *prophet*, Gad the *gazer* (חֹזֶה)'; *comp.* 'Samuel the *prophet*,' 2Ch.xxxv.18, 'Samuel the *seer*,' 1Ch.ix.22—'Gad the *prophet*,' 1S.xxii.5, 2S.xxiv.11, 'Gad the *gazer*,' 1Ch.xxix.29—'Iddo the *prophet*,' 2Ch.xiii.22, 'Iddo the *gazer*,' 2Ch.ix.29, xii.15.

The plain meaning of 1S.ix.9 is that in ancient times, as the days of Samuel, the name 'seer' was used for one who in after times was called 'prophet.' There is not a shadow of a reason for supposing that Samuel, though called a 'seer,' was not regarded as a 'prophet,' endowed not 'simply with superior penetration and intelligence,' but with supernatural gifts, as much so surely as the 'school of prophets' which he founded, 1S.x.5,10, xix.20, &c.

THE BOOK OF NUMBERS.

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AND

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THE BOOK OF NUMBERS.

Chap.i(L.L.).

1. v.1-4. The labour involved in taking the census had already been partially anticipated. An order had been issued some months before, that, whenever the sum of the Israelites was taken, every person numbered should offer an atonement-money of half-a-shekel, to be applied for the service of the Tabernacle, E.xxx.11. &c. Before the construction of the Tabernacle was complete, such a poll-offering had been actually received, E.xxxviii.25-28. The accordance of numerical results shows that the present census was based, not upon any fresh registration of individuals, but upon that which necessarily accompanied the previous collection of the offerings. From the *round numbers* in which the results are given, we may infer that the offerings had been tendered by the people in *groups*, and these probably determined by kindred. If *certificates of registration* were furnished to such groups, the new census might be easily carried out by means of these documents, and got through, as seems suggested by v.18, in a single day. But while, for the purpose of the poll-offering, it sufficed to note merely the number of persons, it was now required to enrol them after their families, by the house of their fathers. p.655.

Ans. The command for levying the poll-tax was issued during Moses' first sojourn on the Mount, E.xxx.11, &c.; and, as the silver so obtained was used in making the 'sockets of the Sanctuary,' &c., xxxviii.25-28, it is plain that the money must have been gathered immediately after his final descent from the Mount, before the commencement of the construction of the Tabernacle, i.e. six or seven months* before the census in N.i. During that interval the births among two millions of people under ordinary circumstances may be reckoned at 48,000, and the deaths 30,000.† How could the

* They arrived at Sinai 'in the third month,' E.xix.1; adding the two intervals of 40 days each, which Moses spent on the Mount, we have nearly three months; so that Moses set about the work, as in xxxv.4, &c., about the end of the *sixth* month, and the census in N.i took place 'on the first day of the *second* month' of the second year, v.18.

† The births in London for a week taken at random (*Times*, September 3, 1862) were 1,852, and the deaths, 1,147.

'certificates of registration,' issued at the former period,—though no hint is given of this having been done,—have sufficed for the latter, when they were to be very carefully enrolled 'each man by their polls'?

2. *v.5-16.* The selection of the Princes of the Tribes appears from *v.4* to have been made under Divine direction. But, probably, as *v.16* seems to suggest, they were for the most part the same persons as those chosen a few months previously at the counsel of Jethro, *E.xviii.21-26.* *p.655.*

Ans. The epithet 'renowned of the congregation,' in *v.16* is hardly sufficient to identify these *twelve* princes with those 'chosen a few months previously' in *E.xviii.25*, since these last were to be set over the people as 'rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens,' *v.21,25*, and therefore must have been very much more numerous—in fact, 78,600, *p.803.* It is plain that the writer represents them as appointed by Divine direction, *v.5.*

3. *v.20-46.* In eleven tribes the number enrolled consists of complete hundreds. This is in all likelihood to be explained by the fact that the census was taken principally for military purposes, *v.3,20.* Hence the enrolment would naturally be arranged by hundreds, fifties, &c., *2K.i.9,11,13.* Supernumerary units would in such a calculation be left to balance the losses from physical unfitness for service and from casualties of various kinds; and the general result would thus fairly exhibit the available military strength of the nation.

It is not a little remarkable, however, that here the tribe of Gad, *v.25*, and at the later census the tribe of Reuben, *xxvi.7*, yield odd decades over their hundreds. *Can this be accounted for by the pastoral and consequently nomadic habits of these tribes?* This cause might render it difficult to bring all their members together at once for a census.

Judah already takes precedence of his brethren in point of numbers, *comp. G.xlix.8*, and Ephraim of Manasseh, *comp. G.xlviii.19,20,* *p.656.*

Ans. The notion of this census being made for 'military purposes' may apply to *N.i,ii*; though the suggestion, that the 'pastoral and consequently nomadic' habits of Gad and Reuben may account for the 'odd decades' in their numbers, makes rather a strong demand on the credulity of readers. It is evident that the numbers of the different tribes, all (except one) consisting of round hundreds, are altogether fictitious. Gad has an odd 50 in *v.25*, and Reuben an odd 30 in *xxvi.7*; Judah is greatest of *all* the tribes, both in *v.27* and in *xxvi.22*; Ephraim is greater than Manasseh in the first census, *v.33,35*, but less in the second, *xxvi.34,37.*

4. *v.47-54.* The Levites were appointed to the charge of the Tabernacle, and were therefore not entered on the general muster-rolls. *p.657.*

Ans. But not a word had been said about the Levites being 'appointed to the charge of the Tabernacle' at the time when the atonement-money was

ordered to be paid in E.xxx.11, &c. Why, then, were the Levites excepted from contributing this tax with the rest? It is plain that the writer of E.xxx.11, &c., has inconsiderately anticipated both the census in N.i.1-46 and the consecration of the Levites in v.47-54.

5. v.48. *and Jehovah had spoken to Moses.*] Render *spake*, for the formal appointment is only now made. The Levites had, indeed, already acted as assistants to the Priests, E.xxxviii.21, being the tribesmen of Moses and Aaron. Their zeal against the worshippers of the Golden Calf, E.xxxii.26-29, D.xxxiii.8, &c., gave them a distinct position, and led to their receiving as their reward the dignity to which they are now expressly named, though reference to their future office appears previously in L.xxv.32, &c. p.657.

Ans. The above agrees with the view expressed in (VI.157, &c.), that the Levites were specially selected for sacred offices because of the zeal which they had shown in the matter of the Golden Calf, E.xxxii.25-29. And, probably, there was originally, as suggested in (VI.159), a passage in the O.S., coming after E.xxxiv.29-32, which announced the dignity of the priesthood to the whole tribe of Levi, but which has of necessity been struck out by the Later Legislator, when he introduced his own arrangements, which maintain a strong distinction between the Priests and the Levites. And this may perhaps explain why the writer of E.xxx.11, &c., having this *earlier* consecration of the Levites in his mind, has omitted them from the number of those who should pay the atonement-money, and also has assigned them as assistants to 'Ithamar son of Aaron the priest' in E.xxxviii.21; though he may only have had his eye upon the *subsequent* notices of the L.L. But, as the story now stands, not only are these facts unexplained, but the mention of the 'Levites,' in L.xxv.32,34, is also premature, and still more the mention there of the Levitical cities and their suburbs, for which the command is given in the very last year of the wanderings, N.xxxv. (see *Lev.* 55).

Chap.ii(L.L.).

6. v.3. *on the east side.*] The post of honour, in front of the curtain of the Tabernacle, and corresponding to the position occupied by Moses, Aaron, and the Priests in the Levites' camp, is assigned to Judah. p.658.

Ans. MR. ESPIN does not appear to have noticed that nowhere is anything said about the Tabernacle being *at every station* placed in the direction *east and west*—without which these orders for the arrangement of the camps, on the east, south, west, north side, v.3,10,18,25, are altogether unmeaning.

7. v.32-34. Such was the *ideal* (!) form of the encampment in the wilderness. . . . It is to be observed, however, that the collocation of the tribes is only prescribed in general terms. The actual form of the encampment would, no doubt, whilst observing this arrangement generally, vary in different places according to

local exigencies. At Sinai itself, *e.g.*, the granite cliffs, which hemmed in the host on every side, would render it impossible for the tents to be pitched on any symmetrical plan; whilst in the Plains of Moab, where a long halt was made, the camp might on the other hand lie 'four-square,' or nearly so; for the line of encampment from Beth-Jeshimoth to Abel-Shittim would extend nearly five miles.

The area of the camp might be about three square miles. Polybius (VI.27), describing the camps of the Roman armies, tells us that a space of about one-sixth of a square mile sufficed for 20,000 men, and allowed ample room for streets, officers' quarters, accommodation for horses, &c., with a vacant space of 200 feet behind the rampart all round. It must be remembered that the two million Israelites were living together in families, and therefore would not occupy so much ground as a like number of warriors. *p.*660.

Ans. On the contrary, it is plain that the Israelites, with their women and children, would (if any regard was to be had to decency), have occupied *far more* ground than the same number of warriors, and, in fact, since all lived on the ground, having only tent-accommodation, about as much as is occupied by a vast modern city of two million persons, of whom multitudes would be living thickly huddled together in garrets or cellars, and where all houses would have upper floors—that is, a space of about twelve miles square (I.45). But how could forty such camping places have been found in the wilderness, N.xxxiii, at each of which they must have remained on the average about twelve months, whereas the 'long halt' in the Plains of Moab can only have lasted for six months, according to Mr. ESPIN's own calculations? *p.*650.*

Chap.iii(L.L.).

8. v.3. *whom he consecrated*] *i.e.* whom Moses consecrated, or 'whose hand he filled,' by conferring their office upon them. *p.*661.

Ans. Probably the verb is used here impersonally, according to the common Hebrew idiom, 'upon *one* consecrated' = 'who were consecrated,' or 'whose hands were filled.'

9. v.39. 22,000.] The aggregate of the three families makes the total 22,300. . . . It is apparent, however, that the number 22,000 is the basis on which the commutation with the First-born of the Twelve Tribes is made to depend, v.43-46.

* The death of Aaron occurred 'on the first day of the *fifth* month,' N.xxxiii. 38; the mourning lasted a month, xx.29; and Mr. ESPIN reckons that the journey to the brook Zered, xxi.12, 220 miles, took another month; after which he allows a fortnight for the conquest of Sihon and Og, v.21-35, and then they pitched in the Plains of Moab, xxii.1. Thus $3\frac{1}{2}$ months remain to the address of Moses in Deuteronomy, 'on the first day of the *eleventh* month,' D.i.3, from which to 'the tenth day of the *first* month,' when they crossed the Jordan, J.iv.19, makes about six months altogether for the camp in the Plains of Moab.

The actual total of the male Levites (22,300) seems therefore to be tacitly corrected by the subtraction of 300 from it. The Talmud . . . regards these 300 as representing those who, being firstborn themselves in the Tribe of Levi, could not be available to redeem the firstborn in other tribes. . . . Modern commentators generally have assumed an error in the Hebrew text. . . . But there is no warrant in ancient MSS. or Versions for any emendation of the text in this place. p.663.

Ans. It is possible that, as Mr.ESPIN says, v.28 should be corrected by reading שלש for שש, i.e. 8,300 for 8,600, which would remove the difficulty. Or there may have been an inadvertency on the part of the writer. The notion of the Talmud (adopted by Bishop Wordsworth) is merely an artifice to evade the difficulty; it is absurd to suppose that 'all the males from a month old and upward,' in v.39, must be understood to mean 'all the males' *except* the firstborns 'within the year which had elapsed since the command [in E.xiii.2] was issued.' p.663.

10. It is noteworthy that the tribe of Levi is shown by this census to have been by far the smallest of any of the thirteen [of the other (*sic*)] tribes. . . . *No doubt, however, many of those reckoned amongst the other tribes were servants or dependants, and not pure Israelites; whilst none but actual descendants of Levi would be dedicated to the service of the Tabernacle.* p.663.

Ans. There is not a shadow of ground for the supposition above italicized. It is clear that the men numbered in N.i,ii, were meant to be *bonâ fide* children of Reuben, Simeon, &c., in fact 'children of Israel,' i.2,45, just as the Levites were 'children of Levi.' The suggestion is only made to evade certain formidable difficulties.

11. v.40-43. This [number of firstborns, 22,273], when compared with the number of male adults, 603,550, ii.32, is disproportionately small, the usual proportion of firstborn sons to a total male population being about one in four. The explanation is that the law of E.xiii.1,2, prescribed a dedication of those who should be firstborn *henceforward*. This seems implied—

(i) In the very language used, 'Sanctify unto me the firstborn, whatsoever *openeth* (not *hath opened*) the womb,' E.xiii.2,11,12—

(ii) By the ground which God is pleased to assign (iii.13, viii.17) for making this claim—

(iii) By the fact that the special duties of the firstborn had reference to a ritual which at the time of the Exodus had yet to be revealed—

(iv) And by the inclusion in the command of the firstborn of cattle, which obviously must mean those *thereafter* firstborn, for we cannot imagine that an inquisition amongst the flocks and herds was made at the Exodus to discover for immediate sacrifice the firstborn already in existence. p.664.

Ans. The number of firstborns has obviously been made to approximate to the number arbitrarily set down as the number of Levites, and is, as

Mr. ESPIN truly says, disproportionately small, since according to the 'usual proportion,' as above stated, they should have numbered 150,000, or rather 250,000, taking into account the *whole* number of males, instead of only the warriors. Mr. ESPIN's arguments, to show that only those are meant who were born after the announcement of the command in E.xiii.1,2, are of no value.

(i) assumes that a *verb* is used in the Hebrew phrase—'whatsoever *openeth* (not *hath opened*) the womb—expressing present or future time; whereas a *noun* is here used (פָּקַד כָּל־רֶחֶם, 'the bursting of every womb'), not implying any particular time, past, present, or future, any more than the preceding noun (כָּל־בְּכוֹר, 'every firstborn'); and, accordingly, in Ez.xx.26, the identical phrase is used with reference to firstborns in *past* time.

(ii) proves the opposite of Mr. ESPIN's view, since, if the firstborns of Israel were to correspond to the firstborns smitten in Egypt, they should have been of *all ages*, not merely infants: they were sanctified to Jehovah 'on that day'; but not a word is said about their being born on or after that day.

(iii) is wholly irrelevant.

(iv) is also set aside by the fact that the 'cattle of the Levites' of *all ages* is taken to represent the firstlings of Israel, v.41,45. If this had been *history*, we might have felt the difficulty of 'making inquisition' for firstborns among all the flocks and herds of the Israelites; but the writer cared nothing for practical difficulties of this kind; and in fact, he has evaded all such trouble in the present instance by the above substitution.

We must conclude, therefore, from the natural meaning of the command in E.xiii.1,2, as well as from the arguments stated in (ii) and (iv) above, that *all* the firstborns of all ages in Israel were meant to be reckoned among the 22,273 of v.43—a fact bringing with it an insuperable difficulty for the traditionary view.

12. Hence the real difficulty is to explain how the firstborn sons amongst two millions of persons in a single year, could have been so many as is stated in the text. And it must be admitted, notwithstanding the well-known and often very remarkable fluctuations in statistics of this sort, that some unusual causes must have been concerned. Such, not to mention the Divine Blessing, may be found in the sudden development of national energies which would immediately ensue on the Exodus. Before that event the miserable estate of the people during their bondage, and especially the inhuman order for the destruction of their firstborn (*sic*),* would check very seriously the ratio of marriages and births; and this

* This is, doubtless, a slip of the pen: the order was for the destruction of *all* the male children, E.i.16.

ratio would naturally, when the check was removed, exhibit a sudden and striking increase. Commentators adduce some auxiliary arguments; *e.g.* Keil, from statistics, argues that amongst the Jews the proportion of male births is usually very large. In truth, however, we have no sufficient data for entering into statistical discussions upon the subject. And it is obvious that inferences drawn from the statistics of ordinary and settled communities are not altogether relevant to a case so peculiar in many ways as that laid before us in the Pentateuch. *p.*664.

Ans. Whatever may be the value of the above arguments in relieving the difficulty of 22,273 representing the number of firstborns during 'a single year,' they do not in the least diminish, but tend to increase, the discrepancy that this is meant to be the number of all the firstborns in Israel of all ages.

13. *v.*44-51. The excess in the number of firstborn males found amongst the twelve tribes is redeemed by money at a rate which henceforth became the fixed one (xviii.16, L.xxvii.6) for such redemption. The redemption money would perhaps be exacted from the parents of the *youngest* children of the 22,273, they being in this case most nearly approaching that of those who would pay the tax for the redemption of the firstborn in future. *p.*664.

Ans. The data of the L.L. in L.xxvii.6, N.xviii.16, naturally agree with its datum here, though the first of these *anticipates* the redemption-price here named. The writer evidently did not concern himself with the question as to which of the 22,273 firstborns were to be regarded as the 273 who should pay the redemption-tax of 'five shekels apiece by the poll.'

Chap.iv(L.L.).

14. *v.*44. The number of Merarites [3,200] available for sacred services bears an unusually large proportion to the total number of males of that family, which is 6,200, iii.34. *p.*667.

Ans. The difficulty is that here 3,200 'from 30 years upwards to 50 years,' IV.42-44, are reckoned out of 6,200 of all ages 'from a month upwards,' iii.33,34, whereas in ordinary cases (VI.447, note) only 45 per cent.—that is, in the case before us, only 2,790—are found 'from thirty years upwards' of *all ages*.

Besides the above, however, there is the further difficulty, that the Kohathite males 'from 30 to 50 years' are reckoned as 2,750, *v.*36, of whom the Amramites were 2, *viz.* the two sons of Moses, E.xviii.3,4 (the sons of Aaron being reckoned as Priests); and, consequently, the rest must have been children of the six sons of Izhar and Uzziel, E.vi.21,22, who must therefore have had between them 2,748 adult sons and as many daughters! Mr.ESPIN has not noticed this fact.

Chap.v(L.L.).

15. v.1-4. The precepts respecting ceremonial defilements had been already laid down, L.xiii and xv, excepting that arising from contact with a corpse, which occurs in N.xix (*comp.*, however, L.xi.24 and xxi.1). They are now first fully carried out, and hardly could have been so earlier, during the hurry and confusion which must have attended the march out of Egypt and the encampments which next followed. p.668.

Ans. In L.xi.24, &c., rules are laid down with reference to the uncleanness caused by contact with a dead *animal*, and in L.xxi.1, N.v.2, ix.6,7, it is *assumed* that contact with, or even near approach to, a corpse 'defiles,' and directions for purification are given in the special case of a Nazarite, vi.6-12. But no general regulations are issued on the subject till nearly forty years afterwards, N.xix.11-14!

All this clearly indicates the unhistorical character of the whole legislation.

16. v.11-31. The trial of jealousy. Along with other ordinances, intended at once to indicate and to secure the sanctity of God's people, is now given an ordeal which should *remove the very suspicion of adultery from amongst them*. . . The process prescribed has been lately strikingly illustrated from the Egyptian 'Romance of Setnan,' translated by Brugsch. . . *This, then, like several other ordinances, was adopted by Moses from existing and probably very ancient and widely spread institutions.* p.669.

Ans. This ordinance, which was meant to 'remove the very suspicion of adultery from amongst' the Israelites, was very one-sided, since it only attempts to provide for the detection or punishment of an adulterous *wife*, but says nothing about an adulterous *husband*. If 'the water was indued with extraordinary power by Him that dwelt in the Tabernacle,' p.669, by having put into it some dust from the floor of the Tabernacle, v.17, surely this miraculous drink might have been expected to detect the sin of the man as certainly as that of the woman. But, as Mr.ESPIN regards this law not as Divinely revealed—in spite of 'Jehovah spake unto Moses,' v.11—but as 'adopted by Moses, like several other ordinances, from existing institutions,' he may be able to pass lightly over such an inconsistency and injustice as this.

But Mr.ESPIN further says on this point:—

We do not read of any instance in which this ordeal was resorted to—a fact which may be explained either (with the Jews) as a proof of its efficacy, since the guilty could not be brought to face its terrors at all, and avoided them by confession, or more probably by the license of divorce tolerated by the Law of Moses. Since a husband could put away his wife at pleasure, a jealous man would naturally prefer to take this course with a suspected wife rather than call public attention to his own shame by having recourse to the trial of

jealousy. The Talmud states that the trial lapsed into disuse forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, and that, *because the crime of adultery was so common amongst men*, that God would no longer inflict the curses here named upon women. p.670.

And it is certainly very significant of the real character of the whole proceeding when he goes on to tell us :—

Travellers speak of the natives of Africa as still habitually seeking to obtain the full force of a written charm by drinking the water into which they have washed it. . . . The trial by Red Water, which bears a general resemblance to that here *prescribed by Moses*, is still in use among the tribes of Western Africa. There is no evidence to show whether *this usage sprang from imitation of the Law of Moses*, or whether *Moses himself, in this as in other things, engrafted his ordinance upon a previously existing custom*. There is no doubt, however, that the managers of the ordeal in Africa prepare the Red Water so as to secure the result which they may desire from the experiment. p.670.

A Christian missionary would probably labour zealously to abolish such superstitions ‘among the tribes of Western Africa,’ whether ‘springing from imitation of the Law of Moses’ or having given the hint to Moses himself for his own ‘ordinance.’

Chap.vi(L.L.).

17. v.13. *when the days of his separation are fulfilled.*] The tenor of these words seems to imply that perpetual Nazariteship was unknown in the days of Moses. On the other hand, however, Moses does not expressly require that limits should be assigned to the vow ; and the examples of Samson, Samuel, and John the Baptist show that it was in *later times* undertaken for life, and that parents could even devote their future children to it, 1S.i.11. p.672.

Ans. Samson and Samuel were instances of Nazarites in *earlier times*, under rules which differed materially from the law here laid down (VII.103). In Samson’s case, Ju.xiii, the *mother* was to abstain from wine and strong drink, and to eat no unclean thing, v.4,7, ‘nor anything that cometh of the vine,’ v.14; and her child was ‘a Nazarite unto Elohim from the womb,’ v.5,7, whose chief or sole distinction as such would be apparently that ‘no razor should come upon his head,’ v.5, xvi.17. Accordingly Mr.ESPIN quotes the following illustration from modern Persian practice :—

After the birth of a son, if the parent be in distress, or the child be sick . . . the mother makes a vow that no razor shall come upon the child’s head for a certain time or for life. If the child recovers, and the vow be but for a time, so that the mother’s vow be fulfilled, then she shaves his head at the end of the time prescribed, makes an entertainment, collects money and other things from her relations, which are sent as *Nezers* (offerings) to the mosque. p.673.

This Nazariteship of Samson, however, was not the consequence of any

vow, and it was permanent for life, unless he chose to be shaved, and in that case it was interrupted until his hair grew again, xvi.22. And as Mr.ESPIN observes :—

In Ju.xv.16 Samson wields the jawbone of the dead ass, yet is not recorded to have brought any sacrifice afterwards. p.672.

But in N.vi this man (or woman) becomes a Nazarite by a *voluntary* vow, v.2,8,13, and for a *certain term*, v.4,5, during which he was to let his hair grow, v.5, and was (the Nazarite, not the mother) to abstain from wine, &c., v.4, and from touching anything unclean, v.6-8; and, if 'his separation was defiled' by any circumstance, he was to begin *de novo* to reckon the days of his vow, v.9-12.

Since John the Baptist himself—not his mother—was to 'drink neither wine nor strong drink,' it is plain that his Nazariteship conformed more closely to the later type of the L.L. in N.vi than to that of an earlier age. And the same holds good of the vow in Acts xxi.23, &c., which 'no doubt was that of a Nazarite,' p.673, as also perhaps was that of St. Paul in Acts xviii.18, viz. a *temporary* vow, which was brought to a close by shaving the head, and burning the hair 'under the sacrifice of the peace-offerings,' as prescribed in N.vi.18, upon which Mr.ESPIN very truly remarks (though his words suit rather a *human* institution than a Divine revelation, 'and Jehovah spake unto Moses,' v.1) :—

The Nazarite vow is only one of many illustrations of the religious significance associated with the hair in ancient times and in very diverse countries. p.673.

18. v.22-27. A formula is provided by God Himself through which from time to time, as His people by obedience place themselves in true and right relationship to Him, the authorized mediators may pronounce and communicate His special blessing to them. p.673.

Ans. Mr.ESPIN, who sees in this blessing of the L.L. 'shadowed forth the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity,' p.674, does not, however, give us anywhere the rule by which he distinguishes what 'is provided by God Himself' in this legislation from what 'Moses may have adopted from ancient institutions' in Egypt and elsewhere, 'engrafting *his* ordinance upon a previously existing custom.'

19. Maimonides states that the Sacred Name has never been used even in the solemn benediction of the Sanctuary since the death of Simon the Just. p.674.

Ans. The murder of Simeon took place B.C. 139, IMacc.xvi. From the above it would seem that previously to that time the Sacred Name was used, which agrees with the fact of its being freely employed in Dan.ix, written about B.C. 165 (VII).

Chap.vii(L.L.).

20. v.1. The anointing of the Tabernacle here referred to had no doubt taken place in the course of the first month, E.xl.17, L.viii.10, &c., and had occupied eight days of that month, L.viii.33. The enactments, set forth in the chapters from L.x to N.vi inclusive, were doubtless promulgated at various times between the consecration of the Tabernacle and the departure from Sinai, but are for convenience set out connectedly. The contents of the present chapter are accordingly placed after them, and all the more properly, since part of the gifts consisted of the wagons and oxen by which the Tabernacle and its furniture could be conveyed in the ensuing marches. *The order pursued throughout is justly noted as one which would naturally suggest itself to a narrator who was contemporary with the events.* p.674.

Ans. It is difficult to see how the above remark (italicized) agrees with the fact that the 'Levitical cities' are mentioned in L.xxv.32-34, though no direction is given about them till nearly forty years afterwards in N.xxxv, and that 'defilement by the dead' is referred to in L.xxi.1, N.v.2, vi.6-12, though the directions respecting it are first given in N.xix.11-14, 'belonging to the 38 years of penal wandering in the desert.' p.649.

21. v.12-83. The twelve offerings are strictly alike, and had no doubt been arranged and prepared previously. They were offered, however, on twelve separate days, and the narrative describing each severally at length with unaltered language, reflects somewhat of the stately solemnity which marked the repetition of the same ceremonial day by day. p.675.

Ans. The twelve-fold enumeration of the same gifts in the same words, instead of 'reflecting somewhat of stately ceremonial,' has the character of tedious repetition peculiar to the L.L., *comp.* the double accounts of the construction of the Tabernacle, &c., in E xxv, &c., xxxv, &c.

22. v.89. *he heard the voice of one speaking.*] Rather, *he heard the voice speaking or conversing.* The proper force of the Hebrew participle (Hithpael, as in 2S.xiv.13, Ez.ii.2) would be given if we render 'he heard the voice making itself as speaking.' The effect was as though Moses was audibly addressed by another person. How this effect was produced we are not told. p 678.

Ans. The Hithpael form of the word occurs only in the two passages above quoted, and in each case it seems to have merely the force of Pihel (GES.), as here, 'he heard the voice speaking.' Surely the writer means that Moses was addressed by another person, since the verse begins with 'And when Moses went into the Tent of Meeting to speak with Him,' and ends with 'and He (or it) spake unto him.'

. Chap.viii(L.L.).

23. v.5-22. The 'consecration' of the priests is recorded in L.viii. The distinction between that ceremony and the less solemn 'purification' (v.21) of the

Levites is marked. The Levites are simply sprinkled with water, have to wash their clothes, and to shave their flesh, *v.7*, and then are offered to God on behalf of the people, *v.10,11*. There is no 'washing' with water, anointing, or sprinkling with the blood of a consecrating sacrifice, *L.viii.6,22,30*. These rites of purification are similar to those incumbent on the priests of Egypt. *p.679*.

Ans. The 'marked distinction' between the Priests and the Levites belongs entirely to the L.L., and arose subsequently to Ezekiel's time from the state of things after the Captivity, as explained in (*VI.454*, &c.). Very probably these rites of purification were copied from those of the Egyptian priesthood—but not surely by the Divine Legislator, who yet is supposed to issue these commands, 'Jehovah spake unto Moses,' *v.5*.

24. v.7. sprinkle water of purifying upon them, and let them shave all their flesh, and let them wash their clothes, and so make themselves clean.] The sprinkling of so large a body of men could have been only general. The tokens of individual purification were, however, to be exhibited by each of them through the shaving of the body and washing the clothes. p.679.

Ans. No doubt the writer meant *all* to be sprinkled, as well as to shave their flesh and wash their clothes. He did not concern himself about the practical realization of these and other directions, *v.10,12*, with 22,000 persons, 'from a month old and upward,' *iii.43*, &c., *comp. viii.16-18*, a large proportion of whom, therefore, were infants and young children.

25. v.10. the children of Israel] i.e. through the heads of their tribes, who here, as elsewhere, no doubt acted for their tribesmen. p.679.

Ans. If this were an historical narrative, we should have to make such an assumption as the above. But it would be necessary also to assume that the 'heads of the tribes' put their hands upon 'the heads of the Levites,' *v.10*, though there is no sign of this in the story. Probably the previous remark (24) applies to this also—*viz.* that the writer was not concerned about the practical carrying out of his directions.

26. v.11. And Aaron shall offer the Levites before the Lord for an offering of the children of Israel.] 'Offer' and 'offering,' lit. here and in v.13,15,[21], 'wave' and 'wave-offering.' How this was to be done is not determined. Most likely Aaron pointed to the Levites, and then waved his hands as in ordinary cases of making this offering. The multitude of the Levites seems to preclude the other modes suggested, e.g. causing them to march backwards and forwards before the Altar, or taking them round it. p.679.

Ans. Probably the remark in (24) applies here also. In other instances of 'waving' a 'wave-offering,' the thing offered is meant to be waved to and fro on the priest's hands, *E.xxix.24,26,27*, *L.vii.30*, *viii.27,29*, *ix.21*, *x.15*, *xiv.12,24*, *xxiii.11,12,20*, *N.v.25*, *vi.20*, and probably *E.xxxv.22*.

27. v.19. The substitution of the Levites for the firstborn is suggested to us here as an *act of mercy* on the part of God; for the firstborn, had they had to discharge their duties in person, would assuredly have fallen into omissions or transgressions of the prescribed order, such as would have drawn down those judicial visitations by which *God taught Israel the reverence due to Him*. Even the Priests and Levites themselves were not always sufficiently heedful and reverent, L.x.1, &c., N.xvii, 2S.vi.6, &c. p.680.

Ans. How can it be said that 'God taught Israel the reverence due to Him,' when we find no trace of that reverence in all the history downwards, and know that, on the contrary, the Temple itself was defiled with the grossest abominations, even down to the seventeenth year of the good king Josiah, 2K.xxi.4, xxiii.4,6,7,11,12, Jer.vii.11,30, xxiii.11, xxxii.34, Ez.viii.14, 16, xxiii.39? To have enjoyed a complex series of ritualistic duties, failure in the due performance of which—'omissions or transgressions of the prescribed order'—'would have drawn down judicial visitations' of the most terrible kind on the whole community, would have been a strange 'act of mercy,' even though these numerous officials, subject to faults and infirmities like other men, had been set apart for these services on behalf of their brethren.

28. v.24. *twenty and five years old and upward.*] But in iv.3,23,30, the limit is fixed at thirty years instead of twenty-five. The directions there given, however, are *temporary*, and refer to the transport of the Tabernacle during the journeyings in the wilderness; those of this place are *permanent*, and determine the ordinary and regular obligations of the Levites with respect to the service. The pulling down, erection, and conveyance of the Tabernacle and its furniture would require the services of able-bodied and careful men in their prime; and the number of Levites between 30 and 50 might well suffice for those duties. After the people were settled in Canaan, and the Levites dispersed over the whole land in their cities, the somewhat larger number which the Law now before us would afford was necessary. This number, indeed, proved to be insufficient, even though the tribe had considerably increased (1Ch.xxiii.3), when *David reorganized and developed the whole ritual of the Law*; and accordingly among his last acts he extended the period of the Levites' service by causing it to commence at 20 years of age, 1Ch.xxiii.24-28. And this David is expressly stated to have done because the Levites had no longer to carry the Tabernacle and the vessels, 1Ch.xxiii.26; and, consequently, younger men might now undertake the office. This rule continued in force from the time of David downwards, 2Ch.xxxi.17, Ezr.iii.8. p.681.

Ans. According to Mr. ESPIN, *David* 'reorganized and developed the whole ritual of the Law,' and therefore amended the provision made by *Jehovah* with express reference to the 'settlement of the people in Canaan,' by ordering that the Levites' service should 'commence at 20 years of age'

instead of 25, as here prescribed ! It is simply ridiculous to talk of a man being more fitted for 'the pulling down, erection, and conveyance of the Tabernacle and its furniture' at 30 years of age than at 25, especially considering that men arrive at maturity at an early age in the East. But there is not the least sign that the provision in *iv.3,23,30*, was 'temporary' and meant only for the wilderness, whereas the provision before us was made for the people when settled in Canaan—more especially as *iv.47* speaks of 'the service of the ministry' as well as 'the service of the burden,' and the whole work of carrying the Tabernacle, &c., in the wilderness followed after the directions in *viii.23-26* were issued.

See (*VI.74-79*) for the real explanation of the matter, this passage being most probably a later insertion than *N.iv*, occasioned by the very small number of 'Levites' who attended the call to go up to Jerusalem on the return from the Captivity. The Chronicler's statements are altogether fictitious ; and indeed it would be strange, if their number had 'considerably increased' in David's time,—38,000 from 30 years old and upwards, *1Ch. xxiii.3*,—that only 862 attended the second summons, under very solemn circumstances, to bring up the ark, *1Ch.xv.4-10*.

Chap.ix(L.L.).

29. *v.1-5*. *Passover at Sinai*. This, as being kept in the first month, was prior in time to the numbering in *i.1*, &c., and to the other events narrated in this book. It is, however, recorded here as introductory to the ordinance of *v.6-14* in this chapter respecting the supplementary Passover, the observance of which was one of the last occurrences during the halt at Sinai. *p.681*.

Ans. Yet not a word is said in this passage about the *keeping* of this 'supplementary Passover.' The 'ordinance in *v.6-14*' is given 'on that day,' *v.6*, on which the Passover was kept, which certain men could not keep, because 'defiled by the dead body of a man'; so that all this took place before the numbering in *ch.i*. Yet 'the order pursued throughout is justly noted as one which would naturally suggest itself to a narrator who was contemporary with the events,' *p.674* ! Moreover, the writer refers here to men being 'defiled by the dead,' whereas no laws are given about such 'defilement' before *N.xix.11-14*, a long time afterwards.

30. From the terms of the institution of the Passover, *Ex.xii.25*, *xiii.6-10*, it would appear that the next celebration of it was designed to be after the settlement in Canaan. As, however, the anniversary of the Feast occurred before the wilderness was traversed, a special command of God is given to meet the case; and, had it not been for the subsequent rebellion of the people, they would have been 'brought into the land of the Canaanites' before this festival came round a third time. *p.681*.

Ans. Since the Tabernacle, &c., we must suppose, was meant from the

first to be constructed and set up in the wilderness, it is plain that all the time from 'the third month' in E.xix.1 to 'the first day of the first month' in xl.2, *comp.* N.ix.1, 'in the first month,' would have been absolutely needed to be spent under Sinai, except the first sojourn of Moses for 40 days on the Mount, E.xxiv.18, which had to be repeated. But then it took them 40 days to 'search the land' of Canaan by God's command, N.xiii.25. Hence it follows that the second celebration of the Passover could not have been 'designed to be after the settlement in Canaan.' Consequently, the direction in E.xii.22,23, which prescribes that the blood shall be sprinkled on 'the lintel and the two side-posts' of each house, and which was to be 'observed as an ordinance for ever,' v.24, betrays inadvertence on the part of the writer, since it was inapplicable at this second Passover, when they lived in tents in the wilderness. Moreover, there is no notice whatever in this 'special command' of any modification of the original direction to suit their present circumstances; there is only an injunction to keep the Passover 'according to all the rites of it, and according to all the ceremonies thereof,' v.3, which could not possibly have been obeyed. The writer has evidently been betrayed into inconsistencies which show the unhistorical character of the whole narrative. The directions, however, in D.xvi.1-8 imply that the Passover was celebrated in the earlier age, in which these were written, in a very different manner from that prescribed in E.xii of the L.L., as is fully shown in (VI.364).

31. As to the manner in which this exceptional Passover was observed, we are only informed generally in v.3 that the Israelites conformed to 'all the rites and ceremonies' of it. Probably, in some details, the present Passover differed both from the one kept at the Exodus itself and from all subsequent ones. The direction of E.xii.7, 'they shall take of the blood and strike it on the two side-posts, &c.,' could obviously not be carried out in the letter whilst the people were living in tents, and indeed may, together with the whole command to kill the Paschal victim at home, be regarded as superseded by L.xvii.3-6, enforced as regards the Passover in particular by D.xvi.5, &c. p.681.

Ans. But how could 'all the rules and ceremonies' of the Passover, as prescribed in E.xii, have been kept, if they neither killed the Passover at home, nor sprinkled the blood on the lintel and door-posts? It is incredible that the specific commands in E.xii should have been meant to be set aside within a few months by the law in L.xvii.1-7, which, moreover, refers evidently to *slaughtering* for food, and not for sacrificial purposes. So Mr. CLARK writes on L.xvii.5:—

Sacrifices.] The Hebrew is *zebachim*, *i.e.* slain beasts or beasts for slaughter. St. Augustin understood v.3-6 to refer to ceremonial sacrifices. The older versions (with our own) seem to countenance this. But the connection justifies

most of the modern interpreters in applying the words to animals *slaughtered for food*. p.594.

Mr.ESPIN's note should have been 'adjusted with that of his colleague.' p.654.

32. Mr.ESPIN, however assuming that L.xvii.1-7 was to supersede the express directions for the Passover in Exii, so that, instead of each householder killing the lamb *at home*, and sprinkling the blood upon the *lintel and doorposts*, the victims on this second occasion were brought '*unto the entrance of the Tent of Meeting*,' L.xvii.4,5, and the blood 'sprinkled by the *priests upon the altar*,' v.6, proceeds as follows:—

But, if the blood of the Paschal victims was sprinkled by the priests upon the altar, it may be asked how Aaron, Eleazar, and Ithamar, the only priests at this time, could discharge the duty within the time prescribed, 'between the two evenings,' N.ix.3,5, *comp.* Ex.xii.6. The number of victims must of course have been great; but it has been much overstated by those who estimate it to have reached many scores of thousands. To eat a morsel of the Paschal victim satisfied the commemorative festival, as the Jewish authorities remark; and calculations as to the number of lambs required to supply the two millions of Israelites with a meal are therefore irrelevant. Neither was it necessary that all the victims should be lambs, *comp.* Ex.xii.5. [They might be lambs or *kids*: how does this affect the present question?] The priests were, no doubt, assisted at this time, as afterwards (*comp.* 2Ch.xxx.16, xxxv.11), by the Levites. In such points of detail *the administrators of the Law of Moses* would here, as elsewhere, have, from the nature of the case, power to order what might be requisite to carry the law into effect. Josephus (*B.J.* VI.ix.3) speaks of the blood of 256,000 victims having been in his days sprinkled on the altar within three hours. p.682.

Ans. But Josephus does not say that there were only *three* priests to sprinkle the blood of so many lambs. His evidence, therefore, proves nothing for our present purpose, except (if he is to be believed) that this enormous number of lambs was required for a population, as he tells us, of 2,700,000, not materially differing from that of the Israelites in the wilderness. As Mr.ESPIN does not enter into details on this point, I abridge here a passage from my 'Notes on Dr. McCaul's Examination of Part I,' p.34:—

'Dr. McCaul next takes up the question of the Passover. He first reduces the number of lambs requisite to 8,000 by certain processes, *e.g.* by assuming that one lamb sufficed for 100 persons or more [which will surely satisfy Mr.ESPIN—Josephus allows from 10 to 20], and that only the *adult males* kept the Passover [Josephus says that *all* did, except lepers and other unclean persons, as women at their monthly periods]. Thus, according to Dr. McCaul's estimate, there were at least 8,000 lambs, whose blood was to be

sprinkled by *three* priests "between the two evenings" [*i.e.* in $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours, says Canon Cook, *p.*293]. Now a very little arithmetic will serve to show that, even thus, Aaron and his two sons would have had each to sprinkle the blood of about 18 *lambs a minute* for $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours together, without a moment's intermission! Admitting, however, the females, we doubt at once the difficulty before us.'

I do not understand why Mr.ESPIN refers to 2Ch.xxx.16, xxxv.11, as showing that 'the priests were, no doubt, assisted at this time, as afterwards, by the Levites.' These passages certainly say that the priests were thus assisted: but, if any reader will refer to them, he will find that in each instance it is distinctly stated that 'the priests sprinkled the blood from the hand of the Levites.'

33. *v.6. certain men.*] Probably (Blunt's *Script. Coincidences*, *p.*62-65) Mishael and Elzaphau, who buried their cousins, Nadab and Abihu, within a week of the Passover, L.x.4,5. None would be more likely to make this inquiry of Moses than his kinsmen, who had defiled themselves by his express direction. *p.*682.

Ans. As 1,000 must have died weekly in the camp of the Israelites (*Num.* 17), it is rather extravagant to assume that the 'certain men' in N.ix.6 must be Mishael and Elzaphan in L.x.4,5, and to find here a striking 'coincidence' in support of the historical character of the narrative; unless Mr.ESPIN also adopts Prof. Blunt's easy mode of getting over the difficulty, that the males above 20 years were 603,550 when they paid the atonement-money, E.xxxviii.26, and were exactly the same number when they were mustered six months afterwards, N.i.46 (*Num.* 1), *viz.* by saying that 'in this short interval it should seem that *no man had died of the males who were above twenty*!' *p.*61 (8th Ed.). Moreover, on Prof. Blunt's view, it would be necessary also to assume, contrary to all statistical experience, that the number who had reached the age of 20 in the interval, and so were old enough to be 'numbered' among the men 'able to go forth to war,' exactly balanced to a man the number who had passed the military age (which is not named, but suppose 50 or 60)—since there were no *deaths* to make up the difference.

34. *v.11.* The later Jews speak of this as the Little Passover. . . . It was in conformity with the spirit of this ordinance that Hezekiah, at the opening of his reign, celebrated the Great Passover in the second month, being unable to complete the sanctification of the temple and priesthood against the regular season of the feast, 2Ch.xxix,xxx. *p.*682.

Ans. The story of the Chronicler in 2Ch.xxix.3-xxxi.21, is a complete fiction (VII). Thus in xxxi.1-5, he makes Hezekiah 'send to all Israel and Judah' and 'write letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh,' and 'proclaim

throughout all Israel from Beersheba to Dan,' v.5, that they should come up to keep the Pesach at Jerusalem; where the writer has lost sight of the fact that Hosea was still reigning over Ephraim, 2K.xviii.9,10.

35. v.15. The words, 'namely the tent of the testimony,' are obviously added to the word 'tabernacle,' in order to describe the phenomenon more accurately. The passage would literally run 'the cloud covered the tabernacle *towards* the tent of the testimony (לְאֹהֶל הָעֵדֻת), i.e. the cloud did not cover the whole structure, court and all, but only the portion of it in which the Ark was placed, including perhaps the holy place as well as the holy of holies.

As the Ark was termed 'the Ark of Testimony,' because the testimony (i.e. the decalogue) was placed in it, so in like manner the inclosure which contained the Ark itself was termed the 'tent of the testimony' or 'witness.' . . . The same portion of the structure seems properly to be indicated by the phrase 'tent of meeting.' p.683.

Ans. There is no foundation whatever for the above statement that the adytum or chancel within the veil 'seems properly to be indicated by the phrase *Tent of Meeting*': see E.xxvii.21, xxviii.43, xxix.4,10,11,30,32,42, &c. Accordingly, Mr.ESPIN contradicts his own statement by speaking of this phrase as 'including perhaps the holy place as well as the holy of holies.'

Chap.x.1-28(L.L.),29-36(O.S.).

36. v.1-10. It is not necessary to suppose that the Trumpets were now first appointed by God. Indeed, reference is made to them, L.xxv.9. p.684.

Ans. The 'adjusting' hand of the Editor was again needed here. The 'cornet' in L.xxv.9 has no connection whatever with these 'silver trumpets' in N.x.1-10. And accordingly Mr.CLARK writes:—

The trumpet is the *shophar*, i.e. the cornet, *buccina*, either the horn of some animal or a tube of metal shaped like one. The Mishna says that the horn of the chamois or wild goat was used on this occasion. p.631.

But the two silver trumpets in N.x.2 were '*straight trumpets*,' D.B. III. p.1572, and so says Mr.ESPIN himself:—

The 'trumpet' was a *straight* instrument, differing in this respect from the *curved* horn or cornet (*keren*, *shophar*). . . . Such instruments are represented, among the other spoils of the temple, on the Arch of Titus. From Egyptian monuments it appears that the *Jewish trumpet was copied from that used in the armies of the Pharaohs*. The shape of the cornet bespeaks its pastoral origin. At first it was a simple ram's horn; and the metal instrument of later times preserved the original shape. p.684.

Did 'Jehovah,' then, who gave this command to Moses, v.1, 'copy' the trumpets of Egypt?

37. v.8. *the sons of Aaron.*] As the trumpets were emblematic of the voice of God, the priests only were to use them. At this time there were only two 'sons of Aaron'; but in later times, when the number of priests was greater, more trumpets were used; we read of 7 in the reign of David, 1Ch.xv.24, of 120 in that of Solomon, 2Ch.v.12.

Ans. The Chronicler's statements are of very little value in such a matter as this. From the Arch of Titus, copied on p.363 of the Commentary, we should infer that in later days there were only *two* 'Silver Trumpets' belonging to the Temple, as here directed. But that no special sanctity attached to this kind of trumpets in earlier times as 'emblematic of the voice of God,' is shown by the fact that in 2K.xi.14, the 'people of the land' or common soldiers blow with them.

38. v.17. The command had been, in general terms, that the Levites with the tabernacle, should occupy the central place in the line of march, after the camps of Judah and Reuben, ii.17. But convenience now necessitated, if not a modification of this order, at least a more precise determination of the method of executing it. The appointed place of the Tabernacle, in the midst of the host, was represented during the march by the ark, the holy vessels, &c., carried by the Kohathites. The actual structure of the Tabernacle was borne in advance by the Gershonites and Merarites, immediately behind the camp of Judah, so as to be set up ready against the arrival of the sacred utensils borne by the Kohathites. p.686.

Ans. This is merely an evasion of the difficulty. In ii.17, it is ordered that the 'Levites' with the '*Tent of Meeting*' shall set forth 'in the midst of the camp' immediately *after the camp of Reuben*, the 'second' camp in the line of march, that of Judah being the 'first.' Whereas in x.17 the Gershonites and Merarites are to start '*bearing the Tabernacle*' immediately *after the camp of Judah*, and the Kohathites with the ark are to start after that of Reuben, v.21, and the others were to 'set up the Tabernacle against they came.'

But the writer has forgotten that nothing would be gained by this arrangement, as the ark would be left unsheltered from the time when the Tabernacle started, while the Reubenites were engaged in starting, and the ark itself was being carried forward to the place where the Tabernacle had been set up to receive it; and it might just as well have been carried forward with the Tabernacle itself, and waited beside it till it was set up. Nay, the story assumes that the Tabernacle, when it reached the place of rest, would be set up *before* the Ark reached it, *i.e.* that it would take *less* time to set up the Tabernacle than would be spent before the arrival of the entire camp of Reuben, 151,450 men, followed by the Ark; and it is plain that the difference marks the length of time during which the Ark would be *longer* exposed by this arrangement than if it had accompanied the Tabernacle.

39. v.33. *the ark of the covenant of the Lord went before them.*] From v.21 and ii.17 it would appear that the usual place of the Ark during the march was in the midst of the host. It was evidently an exceptional case when in J.iii the Ark preceded the people into the bed of the Jordan. Nevertheless some, especially among the Jewish commentators, attending only to the position of the Ark at the commencement of that miraculous passage, deem that the first march from Sinai was also similarly exceptional, it being for the occasion carried before the host. Others, as Keil, view the present verse as furnishing the key to the true interpretation of the earlier notices: they hold that the Ark, as distinguished from the sanctuary, went always in advance. They insist on the intimate connexion between the Ark as God's throne and the cloud of His presence, which latter we know to have preceded the host in its long line of march, E.xiii.21, xiv.19.

But the better view is that of Bp. PATRICK, that the words 'went before them' do not here imply *local precedence*. The phrase, or its equivalent, is used of a leader going out in command of his troops, xxvii.17, D.xxxi.3, 1S.xviii.16, 2Ch.i.10, who, of course, would not necessarily go before them in a local sense. Thus the Ark may well be said to have gone *at the head* of the Israelites, when it was borne solemnly *in their midst*, as the outward embodiment of the Presence whose sovereign word was their law. p.687.

Ans. In (VI.83-4) it is shown that v.29-36 is a portion of the older narrative, following immediately after E.xxxiv.32. The reader will observe the desperate efforts which are here made to escape from the manifest discrepancy between the statement in J.iii.3-6, 11-14, and in this passage, that the Ark was carried *in front* of the host, 'to search out a resting-place for them,' v.33, no doubt, *uncovered*, in the sight of all Israel, and the directions of the L.L., according to which the Ark was to be carried in the *centre* of the host, ii.17, x.21, *wrapped up*, first in the 'rail' of the tabernacle, over which a sealskin covering was to be put, and a blue cloth over all (VI. ch.xiii, note ⁴⁰).

Chap.xi(O.S.).

40. v.4. *wept again*], i.e. as they had done before, *comp.* E.xvi.2, &c. p.688.

Ans. N.xi throughout belongs to the O.S. (VI.91), and therefore cannot refer in v.4, 'they wept again,' to E.xvi.2, &c., which belongs to the L.L. (VI.211). The words may be referred much more naturally to the 'complaining' just mentioned and punished in v.1. But, if there were any reason, with v.1 before us, to go back to events that had occurred a year previously, we might refer these words to E.xvii.3, belonging to the O.S. (VI.213), where they murmured against Moses for want of *water*, quite as well as to E.xvi.2, where they murmured for want of *food*. There is nothing said in either place about the people 'weeping.'

41. v.5. *we remember the fish*, &c.] The natural dainties of Egypt are set

forth in this passage with the fulness and relish which bespeak personal experience. p.688.

Ans. This is but a slender support to the notion of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, unless it could be shown that the Israelites had no intercourse with Egypt, sufficient to enable them to have an idea of the general mode of living of its inhabitants, in the age of David, when (as we suppose) the O.S. was written, and when (as Canon COOKE says) David 'was on friendly terms with the contemporary dynasty [in Egypt], which gave a queen to Israel.' p.307.

42. v.7-9. The description of the manna seems inserted in order to illustrate the unreasonableness of the people in disliking it. p.689.

Ans. The manna has been already described in E.xvi.13,14,31, in very much the same terms as here. It is hardly likely that the *same* writer would have repeated himself thus. Accordingly it is shown in (VI.91) that the present narrative belongs to the O.S., and in (VI.211) that the much more diffuse story in E.xvi is imitated from it, and belongs to the L.L.

43. v.11-15. The meekness of Moses (xii.3) sank under vexation into despair. . . . Such a trait as that exhibited in this passage would not have been attributed to Moses by *tradition*. p.689.

Ans. But this story is a fiction, written (as we suppose) in David's age, centuries after the Exodus; and the character here assigned to Moses is probably drawn from imagination rather than from tradition—or possibly with some allusion to the character of *Samuel*, then recently deceased, and revered by the writer.

44. v.16. *seventy men of the elders of Israel.*] Subsequent notices (xvi.25, J.vii.6, viii.10,33, ix.11,* xxiii.2, xxiv.1,31) of 'the Elders' (not of *all* the elders, as in E.iv.29, xii.21, xviii.12) make no mention of the number seventy, yet so connect the Elders with the government of Israel as to point to the fact that the appointment now made was not a merely temporary one. The council of the Elders, however, would seem to have soon fallen into desuetude. p.689.

Ans. There is not the least indication in the passages cited that there is any allusion whatever to this 'Council of 70 Elders.' The 'elders' in xvi.25, J.vii.6, &c., are doubtless the same as 'all the elders' in E.iv.29, xii.21, xviii.12, = 'the elders of Israel' in E.xvii.5,6, xxiv.1,9, L.ix.1, N.xi.16, 'the elders of the people,' E.xix.7, N.xi.24, 'the elders of the Assembly,' L.iv.15.

45. v.26. *went not out unto the tabernacle.*] The reason of this can only be

* This reference is made by mistake: the *Gibeonites* in this verse speak of '*our* elders.'

conjectured. It was not ceremonial uncleanness, since that (V.2) would have excluded them from the camp altogether. p.690.

Ans. Mr. ESPIN takes no notice here of the fact that Moses and the other elders '*went-out* to the Tent,' *comp.* v.30, which shows that the Tent was pitched, as in the O.S., *outside the camp*, E.xxxiii.7-11, not in the centre of it, as in the L.L., N.ii.2. But in another place he writes:—

When in xi.16,26, they are said to go out to the tabernacle, it is the *entrance of the tabernacle* that is meant, *comp.* xii.4,5. p.737.

But this is a mere evasion of the plain meaning of the Scripture. In xii.4 Moses, Aaron, and Miriam are commanded to '*go out* unto the tent,' *i.e.* to go out of the camp unto the Tent of the O.S. pitched *outside* the camp, E.xxxiii.7, where also '*everyone who sought Jehovah went-out* unto the Tent of Meeting which was without the camp.' And then in N.xii.5, '*Jehovah comes down in the pillar of cloud, and stands in the entrance of the Tent,*' just exactly as in E.xxxiii.9,10.

46. v.32. The people had met with quails before in the desert, E.xvi.13. p.691.

Ans. The accounts of the 'quails' and 'manna' in N.xi(O.S.) have suggested to the L.L. the two features of the narrative in E.xvi. In v.13 is given a brief notice of the 'quails,' suggested by the miracle in N.xi.31, &c.; whereas in v.14, &c., we find a long account of the miracle of 'manna,' suggested by the brief notice of the natural supply in N.xi.6-9.

Chap.xii(O.S.).

47. v.1. *the Ethiopian* (Heb. 'Cushite') *woman whom he had married.*] This can hardly be Zipporah, who was not an Ethiopian but a Midianite, E.ii.21. . . . It is far more likely that Zipporah was dead, and that Miriam in consequence expected to have greater influence than ever with Moses. Her disappointment at his second marriage would consequently be very great. p.692.

Ans. If Moses was 80 years old at the Exodus, E.vii.7, it is rather incongruous that he should now contract 'a second marriage.' But E.vii.7 belongs to the L.L. (VI.197), and the passage before us to the O.S. (VI.91), which is not therefore accountable for this inconsistency, or for the similar one noticed in (Ex. 20).

48. v.3. *the man Moses was very meek.*] These words have been, with no little insensibility to the finer traits of the passage, often regarded as words which Moses himself could not have penned, and accordingly have been cited sometimes as indicating an interpolation, sometimes as proof that the book is not Mosaic. When we regard them as uttered by Moses not *proprio motu*, but under the direction of the Holy Spirit which was upon him, they exhibit a certain 'objectivity,'

which is a witness at once to their genuineness and also to their inspiration. There is about these words, as also about the passages in which Moses no less unequivocally records his own faults, the simplicity of one who bore witness of himself, but not to himself. *p.*693.

Ans. Of course, if Moses spoke these words ‘not *proprio motu*, but under the direction of the Holy Spirit,’ nothing more is to be said. Otherwise, it would be natural to think that Moses, though he might have written of himself as being ‘meek,’ would hardly have said that he was ‘meek above all the men upon the face of the earth’—words which in any other book we should, without any ‘insensibility to the finer traits of the passage,’ ascribe at once to another narrator than Moses.

49. *v.*14. *seven days.*] *comp.* L.xiii.4,5. *p.*694.

Ans. Mr.ESPIN leaves it to be inferred that the commands in L.xiii.4,5, were carried out in Miriam’s case. But Miriam is here ‘shut out of the camp for seven days’; in L.xiii.4,5, the *suspected* person is to be brought to the priest, *i.e.* into the very centre of the camp, and, after inspection by him, to be ‘shut up for seven days,’ apparently near the tabernacle, and therefore in the centre of the camp, and then to be inspected again, and shut up for another seven days.

Rather, Miriam was to bear some shame, and therefore was to be ‘shut out from the camp,’ as a leprous person, ‘for seven days,’ like the pronounced leper in L.xiii.45,46, who, when healed, was to be brought in again, *xiv.* 3,8, as Miriam, N.xii.15, but was still to ‘tarry abroad out of his tent seven days,’ *xiv.*8, *i.e.* apparently to be ‘shut up’ as in L.xiii.4,5. Probably from the earliest time—as that of David, in which we suppose the O.S. to have been written—persons afflicted with extreme forms of this dire disease were excluded from society, without any reference to the Levitical Law, *comp.* 2K.vii.3.

Chap.xiii(1–3,17–20,22–24,26 (except ‘to Kadesh’), 27–31, 33(O.S.),4–16,21,25,26 (‘to Kadesh’),32(L.L.).

50. *v.*16. *And Moses called Oshea . . . Jehoshua.*] It is most probably, though not necessarily, to be inferred from the text that Moses did this first at this time. The earlier employment of the name (E.xvii.9, xxiv.13, &c.) by which Oshea became henceforth known is natural in one who wrote after Joshua had passed into current use. The original name, however, is still used in D.xxxii.44. *p.*695.

Ans. The O.S. *always* says ‘Joshua’: both N.xiii.16(VI.92) and D.xxxii. 44(VI.129) belong to the L.L.

51. *v.*24. *the place was called the valley of Eshcol (i.e. cluster).*] The valley

was in all likelihood originally named after one of the three chiefs who were confederate with Abraham (G.xiv.24); but, as often came to pass, the Israelites, wittingly or unwittingly, took up in a new and significant sense the name which they found, and to them the valley thus became the Valley of the Cluster. p.696.

Ans. But the text says that the place was so called 'because of the cluster of grapes which the children of Israel cut down from thence.' Is not this, then, the true account of the matter?

52. v.25. *after forty days.*] They had no doubt in this time explored the whole land. It was, however, with the southern part that the Israelites expected to have to deal immediately; and accordingly it is that which is particularly referred to in the following verses, Hebron and its vicinity above all. p.697.

Ans. v.21,25, with the 'forty days,' belongs to the L.L. (VI.95); and there is no need now to suppose that the spies in the O.S. searched the whole land to the 'entrance of Hamath,' v.21. Accordingly Joshua bids them 'go-up by the Negeb into the hill-country,' v.17, *i.e.* into the high-land which 'commences a few miles south of Hebron'; and v.22 tells us that they did this—'they went-up by the Negeb and came to Hebron,' and brought the grapes from the valley of Eshcol, and that is all that is said about their expedition, *comp.* also xxxii.9, D.i.24. The information which they give in v.28,29, about the 'sons of Anak' and the position of the tribes inhabiting the land of Canaan, is such as they may be supposed to have ascertained by enquiry.

It may be added that Mr.ESPIN admits the combination in this chapter of 'two originally independent, but consistent, supplementary narratives.' p.697.

53. v.26. *to Kadesh.*] So difficult has it been found to group satisfactorily all the passages in which mention is made of Kadesh round this or any other one spot, that some commentators and geographers (after Reland) have assumed that two distinct places must be supposed to bear the name in the Bible; and they observe that we have mention of *Kadish* and of *Kadesh-Barnea*, of Kadesh in the wilderness of Paran, and of Kadesh in that of Zin, and also of Meribah-Kadesh. . . . But it seems clear, nevertheless, that *one and the same locality throughout* is intended in the Old Testament by these three names. For the encampment from which the spies were despatched and to which they returned is called 'Kadesh' in xiii.26, but 'Kadesh-Barnea' in xxxii.8, as it is also in D.ix,23, J.xiv.6,7. It is further clear on comparing Ez.xlvii.19, xlviii.28, with N.xxxiv.4, J.xv.3, D.xxxii.51, that 'Meribah-Kadesh' is the same as 'Kadesh-Barnea.' p.698.

Ans. It seems clear that Kadesh in the 'wilderness of Zin' and Kadesh in the 'wilderness of Paran,' also called 'Kadesh-Barnea,' are two totally distinct places. The O.S. speaks of 'Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin,' N.xx.

1,14,16,22, *comp.* G.xiv.7, where its ancient name is given, *En-Mishpat*, which Dean STANLEY has identified with Petra; and, in fact, since in xx.22, *comp.* xxxiii.36,37, they 'march from Kadesh and come to Mount Hor,' *this* Kadesh must have been *very near* Mount Hor, as Petra was, 'close beneath it on its eastern side, though, strange to say, the two are not visible to each other.' *D.B.* I.p.824. Under such circumstances, indeed, it is hardly possible that Petra should *not* have been mentioned; while it is obviously a most suitable place to be chosen as a station, where they 'dwelt' for some time, as in N.xx.1.

D.i.46. And here, too, at 'Kadesh' or 'Meribah-Kadesh' in the 'wilderness of Zin,' the misconduct of Moses and Aaron in N.xx.2-13 is correctly placed by the L.L. in N.xxvii.14, D.xxxii.51; and so Ezekiel, xlvii.19, xlviii.23, associates 'Meribah-Kadesh' with 'Tamar,' just as in G.xiv.7 we find 'Kadesh' and 'Hazezon-Tamar' mentioned together.

But Kadesh in the 'wilderness of Paran,' or 'Kadesh-Barnea,' was the place where the spies found the people on returning from searching the land of Canaan, N.xiii.26. It is true, the word קָדֶשׁ, 'to Kadesh,' in this verse is most probably an interpolation of the L.L. (VI.94), and the O.S. sends them merely from 'the wilderness of Paran,' xii.16, xiii.3, to which they return, v.26, and first brings them to 'Kadesh' in xx.1. But the 'Kadesh' in this interpolation is 'Kadesh-Barnea,' as the place, where the rebellion broke out on the return of the spies, is invariably called elsewhere, *e.g.* by D. in D.i.19, ii.14, ix.23, and by L.L. in N.xxxii.8, J.xiv.6,7. This place must have lain somewhere to the south of Judah (perhaps in the position assigned in this Commentary to Kadesh); and, accordingly, Kadesh-Barnea is so placed by O.S. in J.x.41, xv.3, and by L.L. in N.xxxiv.4, while in D.i.2 it is manifestly the same place as in v.19, where the rebellion above mentioned occurred. It is D., in fact, who here, in D.i.19, first identifies 'Kadesh-Barnea' with the scene of this rebellion in the wilderness of Paran; but this is distinct from 'Kadesh' in v.46, where he quotes the very words of N.xx.1.

On the identification of 'Kadesh' with Petra Mr. ESPIN writes as follows:—

Others (*e.g.* STANLEY, *S. and P.*, p.94, &c.) have identified Kadesh with Petra; and the Syriac and Chaldee Versions uniformly replace Kadesh in the Scripture narrative by *Rekem*, the Aramaic name of Petra. The Targums render 'Kadesh-Barnea' by *Rekem-Giah*, *i.e.* 'Rekem of the Ravine.' The word Petra itself recalls the cliff (*sela*) which Moses smote, N.xx.8-11, drawing from it the second miraculous supply of water; and the fact, that the word used for the rock at Kadesh is *sela*, and not as in the narrative of former like miracles, E.xvii.6, the more ordinary word *tsur*, is, no doubt, noteworthy. There appears, too, 2K.xiv.7,

[Is.xvi.1,] to have been a city in Edom called Selah, which possibly was Petra. And Jerome (*Onom. s.v.*) connects Kadesh-Barnea with Petra. . . .

Such coincidences are striking. But (i) Petra lies too far southwards to have been in the frontier of Judah; (ii) it is not a city 'in the uttermost of the border of Edom,' but is rather in the heart of Edom, far in the defiles through which the Israelites vainly sought a passage; and, moreover, (iii) it is in the very skirts of Mount Hor, whereas N.xxxiii.37 speaks of an encampment at Kadesh, and then of a separate and distinct one at Mount Hor. p.700.

But (i) 'Kadesh-Barnea'—not 'Kadesh' in N.xx.1—is 'in the frontier of Judah'; (ii) Mr. ESPIN has not observed that STANLEY notices that in N.xxxiii.37, *Mount Hor* is said to be 'on the edge of the land of Edom,' and he adds—'Modern writers, who represent Edom as extending west of the Arabah in the time of Moses, commit an anachronism, borrowed from the times after the Captivity, when the Edomites, driven from their ancient seats, occupied the south of Judæa as far as Hebron, 1Macc.v.65,' p.94; (iii) they may very well have marched from Petra on the NE. of Mount Hor, and pitched below the Mount on the other side 'in the Arabah below.' p.724.

It seems plain, therefore, that the 'Kadesh' in the 'wilderness of Zin,' near Mount Hor, is 'Petra,' and that the 'Kadesh' in the 'wilderness of Paran,' though sometimes called simply 'Kadesh,' as in G.xvi.14, xx.1, N.xiii.26, is generally distinguished as 'Kadesh-Barnea.'

In the above is noticed every passage in Scripture in which either name occurs.*

Chap.xiv.1,11-25,39-45(O.S.),2-10,26-38(L.L.).

54. v.22. *these ten times.*] Ten is the number which imports completeness, G.xxi.7. The sense is that the measure of their provocations was now full, the day of grace was at last over. The Rabbins, however, take the words literally, and enumerate ten several occasions on which the people had tempted God since the Exodus. p.702.

* If KNOBEL's rendering in D.xxxiii.2^d be adopted (VI.ch.xvi, note 11^a), viz. 'from the heights of Kadesh,' instead of 'out of myriads of holiness'='holy myriads' or 'myriads of angels' (KELL, ESPIN), the 'Kadesh' here named would probably be this Kadesh (Petra) on the edge of the land of Edom, N.xx.16, *comp.* 'Seir' in the parallel clause, v.2^b, where they stayed for a while before starting for their final march 'by the way of the Red Sea,' to 'compass the land of Edom' and reach the eastern boundary of Canaan; just as 'Mount Paran,' v.2^c=Kadesh-Barnea in the 'wilderness of Paran,' upon the southern boundary of Canaan, where they stayed previously while the spies went to search the land, N.xiii.3,26, corresponding to Sinai in v.2^a, from which they had just come, x.33.

Ans. The view above stated agrees with our own (VI.ch.xiii, note ⁶²), in rejecting the Rabbinical notion (adopted by KEIL), which reckons 10 rebellions up to this time, including E.xvi.2, &c., and a *twofold* disobedience in respect of the manna, v.20,27, to which, being due to the L.L., the O.S. in the passage before us could not have alluded.

55. v.24. *my servant Caleb.*] Caleb only is mentioned here, as also in xiii.30, &c. Both passages probably form part of the matter introduced at a *later* period into the *narrative of Moses*, and either by Joshua or under his superintendence. Hence the name of Joshua is omitted, and his faithfulness, together with its reward, are taken for granted. In v.30,38, both names are mentioned together; and these verses in all likelihood belong to the same *original composition* with v.6-10. p.702.

Ans. Mr.ESPIN does not attempt to separate the original 'narrative of Moses' from 'the matter introduced at a *later* period, either by Joshua or under his superintendence,' in which '*Caleb* only is mentioned.' But elsewhere he says:—

The passages introducing the name of *Joshua* would seem to be the inserted ones, and they were added perhaps for the purpose of putting on express record what would seem to have been tacitly assumed in the *original narrative*, that Joshua, Moses' chosen attendant and successor, was not one of the murmurers. p.653 (see *Intr. to Num.* 11).

It would seem that Mr.ESPIN was not quite sure of his ground, and the 'adjusting' hand of the Editor was surely needed here.

The notion, however, that the passages in which Caleb alone occurs are those 'introduced at a later period by Joshua, &c.,' and '*hence* the name of Joshua is omitted,' is at once set aside by the fact that the translation of these passages (VI.ch.xiii) gives a connected and complete narrative, whereas the others, naming Caleb and Joshua, are mere disconnected fragments. Most probably '*Joshua*' is named in these later passages because it was seen that otherwise a discrepancy would exist, if *all* the men of war (except Caleb) were doomed to die in the wilderness, and yet Joshua survived to make the conquest of Canaan. Accordingly, the L.L. inserts '*Joshua*' as well as '*Caleb*' in the list of spies, xiii.6,8, and calls attention especially to the former in v.16. In D.i.36, however, Caleb alone appears, from which it is plain that the Deuteronomist had only before him the narrative of the O.S. (VI.98).

56. It is noteworthy also that no express mention is made of Moses and Aaron as exempt from the sentence; though their inclusion in it only took place long subsequently, xx.12. But such exemption is perhaps implied in the fact that God speaks to them (v.26) whilst giving judgment upon the 'evil congregation.' Eleazar too, who had already entered on the duties of the priesthood (IV.16, &c.),

and therefore was doubtless more than 20 years old, survived to assist Joshua in allotting Canaan to the victorious tribes, J.xiv.1. But, as the tribe of Levi had no representative amongst the twelve tribes, N.xiii.4-15, it was not included with the 'all that were numbered' of v.29, *comp.* i.46,47; so its exception from the judgment seems self-evident.

The exceptions, then, were on the whole neither few nor inconsiderable; and the fact that only one of them is named, v.30, whilst yet the language is emphatically general, should serve as a warning against the common assumption that the words of Scripture can have no limitations, except such as are actually expressed. p.702.

Ans. Not only are Moses and Aaron, and the whole body of priests and Levites, but the *females* also, it would seem, exempted from the doom in v.29. But it is very doubtful if the O.S. contemplated any such a sweeping judgment as is there pronounced; and surely among the 600,000 warriors there must have been *some* exceptions, men quite as obedient as Caleb, and as deserving as some, at least, of the Levites. Moreover N.xxvi.63-65 seems to restrict the doom to the warriors numbered in N.i, so as to exempt the men above military age at that time, though these, of course, would be likely to die of old age in the course of the wanderings. Accordingly in v.22,23, of the O.S. the doom is pronounced only upon 'all the men who had tempted Jehovah' and 'all provoking Him'; and, though these expressions must be understood as comprehending the people generally, v.11,12, yet they would still leave room for such exceptions as the above. Probably most of them were meant to fall by plague, sword, famine, or other visitation, during the wearisome march 'by the way of the Red Sea,' v.25, without any long period of 38 years' wandering (VL.ch.xiii, note ^{6s}). But the L.L. in v.29 extends the doom to 'all that were numbered' without exception, and in v.33,34, prolongs the wandering to 40 years, following in both respects the lead of the Deuteronomist in D.ii.14-16; and accordingly it inserts Joshua among the spies, and promises to him, as well as to Caleb, in reward for their faithful behaviour, entrance into the land of Canaan, v.6, 30,38, instead of to Caleb only, as in the O.S., xiii.30, xiv.24.

57. Ps.xc, which is entitled 'a Prayer of Moses,' has been most appropriately regarded as a kind of dirge upon those sentenced thus awfully by God to waste away in the wilderness. p.702.

Ans. If it is intended in the above note to leave the reader under the impression that the Psalm is really, as its fictitious title states, 'a Prayer of Moses the man of God,' composed as a 'dirge' upon the doomed Israelites, we may ask how Moses could say, 'The days of *our* years are three-score years and ten, and, if by reason of strength they be four-score years, yet is their strength then but labour and sorrow, for it is soon cut off and we flee away,' when *all* the Levites, and *all* the women, and the men above military

age in N.i, were exempted from the doom altogether, and even any of the warriors above 50 at the first numbering might have lived to be 90, and when he himself lived in full vigour to 120 years, D.xxxiv.7, Aaron to 123 years, N.xxxiii.39, and he could then climb Mount Hor, v.38, Joshua to 110 years, J.xxiv.29, while Eleazar his contemporary survived him, v.33, and Caleb was 'as strong' at 85 as he was at 40, J.xiv.10,11.

58. v.25. *now the Amalekites and Canaanites are dwelling in the valley.*] These words are best understood as the continuation of the answer of God to Moses. . . . Some difficulty has been occasioned by the fact that in v.43-45 these tribes are represented rather as dwelling on the hill. The Syriac version alters the passage before us accordingly: but such procedure is unnecessary. What was in one respect a valley, or rather, as the Hebrew term implies, a broad sweep between hills, might in another respect be itself a hill, as lying on the top of the mountain-plateau. Such was precisely the case with the elevated plain on which the conflict of the disobedient Israelites with the Amalekites and Canaanites eventually ensued. p.703.

Ans. This agrees with the view adopted in the translation (VI.ch.xiii).

59. v.25. *to-morrow.*] Not necessarily the next day, but an idiom for 'hereafter,' 'henceforward,' Ex.xiii.14, J.iv.6, &c. p.703.

Ans. The references above given will be found to be wholly irrelevant. There can be no doubt that the word should be rendered here 'to-morrow': so KNOBEL and KEIL.

Chap.xv(L.L.).

60. v.2. *when ye be come into the land of your habitations.*] After the account of the rebellion and of the discomfiture at Kadesh, the main interest of the history descends on the Israelites of the younger generation. To them is conveyed in these words the hope that the nation should yet enter into the Land of Promise. The ordinances that follow are more likely to have been addressed to adults than to children; and we may therefore assume that at the date of their delivery the new generation was growing up, and the period of wandering drawing towards its close. During that period the meat-offerings and drink-offerings prescribed by law had been probably intermitted by reason of the scanty supply of corn and wine in the wilderness. The command, therefore, to provide such offerings was a pledge to Israel that it should possess the land which was to furnish the where-withal for them. p.705.

Ans. The above attempts to explain the fact that this chapter here stands immediately after xiv, in which a doom of death had been pronounced on every male 'from 20 years old and upward,' v.29, and their children were to 'wander 40 years in the wilderness,' v.33,34. But in this chapter we have throughout the signs of the L.L.(VI.99).

61. v.4-12. The meat-offering is treated of in L.ii. *No mention is there made of*

any drink-offering; yet from scattered notices (E.xxix.40, L.xxiii.14) it appears to have been an ordinary accessory to the former. Now, however, it is prescribed that a meat-offering and a drink-offering of definite measure shall accompany every sacrifice. This measure is apparently the same as had been customary already. The lambs of the morning and evening sacrifice had been each accompanied from the first by one-tenth deal of flour, a quarter of a hin of oil, and the like of wine, E.xxix.40; and these measures are now prescribed for every lamb. p.705.

v.20. *as ye do the heave-offering of the threshing-floor.*] Of this, unless it be the same with the dried green ears of L.ii.14, nothing is said elsewhere. p.706.

Ans. The facts above stated are clear signs of the unhistorical character of the whole legislation—'drink offerings' being assumed from the first in E.xxx.9, L.xxiii.18,37, N.vi.15,17, and actually prescribed in one instance, E.xxix.40,41, *comp.* L.xxiii.13, and yet no instruction given for them till now, *i.e.* as Mr.ESPIN says (60), when 'the period of the wandering was drawing towards its close.'

62. v.22. *and if ye have erred.*] The heavy punishments which had already overtaken the people might naturally give rise to apprehensions for the future, especially in view of the fact that on the approaching entrance into Canaan the complete observance of the Law in all its details would become imperative on them. To meet such apprehensions a distinction is emphatically drawn between sins of ignorance and those of presumption; and the people are reminded that for the former an atonement is provided. The passage deals separately with imperfections of obedience which would be regarded as attaching to the whole nation, v.22-26, such as, *e.g.* dereliction of a sacred duty on the part of a ruler, and those of individuals, v.27-30.

v.24. *without the knowledge of the congregation.*] The words point to an error of omission which escaped notice at the time, *i.e.* to an oversight.

v.24. *one young bullock.*] The reference here is to sins of omission. . . . In L.iv.13, &c., the reference is to sins of commission. Accordingly, there is some difference in the ritual. There the bullock was treated as a sin-offering, here as a burnt-offering. With the burnt-offering, however, is to be joined the kid of sin-offering, L.iv.23, as an atonement for the sin of him or them who had occasioned the lapse on the part of the people at large. p.706.

Ans. How greatly it must have tended to confuse the moral perceptions and to blunt and deaden the religious sense of the people, if they were really taught that defects of 'omission,' even of 'oversight,' in the 'complete observance of the Law in all its details,' and the performance of these multitudinous rites by the appointed officers, might at any moment bring down 'heavy punishments' upon the whole people, just as a positive rebellion against an express command to carry out and complete the very object of their journey had been visited by the judgments which had 'already overtaken them' in N.xiv—or even if they were led to suppose

that the performance of these ceremonies 'would become imperative on them,' as soon as they had settled in Canaan, so that 'an atonement for sin' would be required in case of omission!

63. *v.32. and while the children of Israel were in the wilderness.*] Moses mentions here, as is his wont, L.xxiv.10-16, the first open transgression and its punishment, in order to exemplify the laws which he is laying down. The offence of Sabbath-breaking was one for which there could be no excuse. This law at least might be observed even in the wilderness. *The notice of time, 'while the children of Israel were in the wilderness,' is thus no token that the narrative was written when the people were no longer there.* On the contrary, it is properly introduced here to contrast the ordinance of the Sabbath, given some time ago, E.xxi.14, and daringly violated in the case before us, with the series of ordinances first given in this very chapter. The latter were not obligatory until after the settlement in Canaan; the former was obligatory already. Transgression of it was therefore a presumptuous sin, and was punished accordingly. *p.707.*

Ans. It is difficult to argue with one who denies that the expression in question, 'and the children of Israel were in the wilderness,' implies that they were no longer in the wilderness at the time when this part of the narrative was written, and who gives such an unmeaning reason as the above, to show that 'on the contrary it is properly introduced here.' As far as these words are concerned, this passage might have been written by Moses himself in the plains of Moab or by Joshua in the land of Canaan. But it clearly belongs to the L.L. (VI.99), as does also L.xxiv.10-16, evidently by the same hand, the solitary instance which Mr.ESPIN here produces of Moses' 'wont' in such cases. In fact, the stress here laid upon sabbath-keeping points to a very late age (VI.466).

64. *v.38. that they put upon the fringe of the borders a riband of blue.*] Render *that they add to the fringes of the borders (or 'corners') a thread of blue. . . .* These fringes are considered by Wilkinson to be of Egyptian origin. . . . Each tassel had a conspicuous thread of deep blue, *this colour being doubtless symbolical of the heavenly origin of the commandments, of which it was to serve as a memento.* *p.708.*

Ans. It does not appear whether the Egyptian fringes, which were copied in these professedly Divine directions, had tassels with coloured threads in them or not. But the 'blue' threads were probably no more 'symbolical of the heavenly origin of these commandments' than the 'blue' lace, E.xxviii.37, or the 'blue' loops, E.xxxvi.11, or the three 'blue' cloths, N.iv.6,9,12, or the 'blue' clothing of the captains and rulers in Ez.xxiii.6.

Chap.xvi.1,2^a,12-15,23-34(O.S.), except 'Korah, &c.,' v.1, 'Korah,' v.24,27, 'that were Korah's,' v.32,2^b-11,16-22,35-50 (L.L.), with 'Korah, &c.,' as above excepted.

65. This narrative is regarded, even by Ewald, Knobel, &c., as possessing the characteristics attributed by them to the oldest documents. . . . The date of the transaction contained in it cannot be determined; but *v.13,14*, probably point to a period not much later than that of the rebellion at Kadesh. At any rate this chapter does not *necessarily* rank chronologically after the one preceding. *p.708.*

Ans. On our view (VI.100) *portions* of this chapter belong to the O.S., and follow immediately after the matter belonging to the O.S. in xiv. But the consecutive narrative of the O.S., as it appears in the translation (VI.ch.xiii), has been interrupted by insertions of the L.L.

It would certainly be a reflection on the literary character of Moses, if with 38 years of 'comparative leisure' on his hands, he could not arrange his work better than by placing this narrative, 'pointing to a period not much later than that of the rebellion at Kadesh,' *after* ch.xv, delivered 'when the period of the wanderings was drawing towards its close.' *p.705.*

66. *v.1. Korah, the son of Izhar.*] Amram and Izhar were brothers, E.vi.18, and thus Korah was connected by *distant* consinship with Moses and Aaron. *p.708.*

Ans. This note seems to betray the 'adjusting' hand of the Editor, who falls back here on his amazing assumption in the commentary on Exodus, that the Amram, Izhar, and Uzziel of E.vi.20-22, are separated by some generations from the Amram, Izhar, and Uzziel of *v.18*—an explanation given in the face of all critical consistency and common-sense, in order to save the traditionary view from an overwhelming mass of difficulties (*Ex. 27*).

67. *v.1. Dathan and Abiram . . . On.*] Of these, On is not again mentioned. He probably withdrew from the conspiracy. . . . The Reubenites encamped near to the Kohathites, and 'thus the two families were conveniently situated for taking counsel together,' BLUNT, *p.76*. One pretext of the insurrection probably was to assert the rights of primogeniture—on the part of the Reubenites against Moses, on the part of Korah against the appointment of Uzziel. Though, being a Kohathite, he was of that division of the Levites which had the most honourable charge, yet as Elizaphan, who had been made 'chief of the families of the Kohathites,' iii.30, belonged to the youngest branch descended from Uzziel, iii.27, Korah probably regarded himself as injured, and therefore took the lead in this rebellion, which took his name in particular, *v.5,6, xxvi.9, Jude 11.* *p.708.*

Ans. Most probably, as GRAF suggests (VI.100, note) וֹנִי, 'and On,' has originated from some mistake in copying, and for דָּתָן should be read בָּנֵי, and 'son' for 'sons' of Reuben, as in D.xi.6; so that the passage would now run 'Dathan and Abiram, sons of Eliab, son of Pallu, son of Reuben,' and 'On' disappears.

Blunt's 'Undesigned Coincidence,' as a proof of the historical character of

the narrative, disappears also when we know that 'Korah' did not exist at all in the O.S., but belongs to the L.L. (VI.101). There is not the least reference throughout to any assertion of the 'rights of primogeniture.' In the O.S. the Reubenites simply refuse to obey the orders of Moses, v.12-14; in the L.L. Korah, the Levite, demands a share in the priesthood, v.8-10. Probably in each case the story may reflect the actual history of the times to which these passages respectively belong, the one indicating some rebellious movement against the authority of David, and the other some discontented effort of the 'sons of Korah' to shake off the priestly supremacy which weighed down the Levites after the Captivity, and kept them down in an inferior position (VI.455). And so Mr. ESPIN says:—

The real attack of Korah was doubtless upon the authority of the family of Aaron over the Levites, v.10. His object was not to abolish the distinction between the Levites and the people, but to win priestly dignity for himself and his kinsmen. But this ultimate design is masked for the present, v.3, in order to win support from the Reubenites by putting forward claims to spiritual equality on behalf of every Israelite. p.709.

68. v.1. *took men.*] The original has simply 'took': what they took is not said. p.708.

Accordingly emendations have been proposed, and for ויקח have been suggested . . . ויקם, of which the last corresponds in a general way to the rendering of Onkelos and to that of the Syriac Version. . . .

Probably, however, the difficulty of construction arises from an *after insertion* of the mention of Dathan and Abiram, and of their insurrection against Moses, into the *original narrative* of the sedition of Korah. This narrative would run naturally as follows:—'Now Korah, the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, took of the children of Israel two hundred and fifty, &c.' In it, moreover, Korah and his company would be naturally represented as gathering themselves together against Aaron as well as against Moses, v.3. But in the *expansion of this narrative*, with a view of making it comprise the account of the proceedings of Dathan and Abiram, it became important to mark that the outcry of the latter was directed against Moses alone; hence the introduction of the opening words of v.2. p.712.

Ans. Who can believe that Moses, in his first account of these proceedings, would have omitted all mention of the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram, which was so fearfully punished, v.32,33? The fact is, exactly as in (55), just the converse of that above supposed, as appears plainly by the translation in (VI.ch.xiii). The *original narrative*, written probably in David's age, contained only the account of Dathan and Abiram, who accordingly alone are mentioned in D.xi 6, and not Korah; and for ויקח in v.1, as above suggested, should be read ויקם, 'and there rose-up,' i.e. in opposition, comp. J.xxiv.9, from which has been derived the ויקמו of v.2^a (VI.App.17.i.

N.B.); whereas that part of the story which relates to Korah is a 'later insertion' made after the Captivity (VI.*App.*18).

69. v.13. An exchange of taunts was being carried on between the parties. The 'ye take too much upon you' of Moses in v.7 is his reproof of the like words used by the conspirators in v.3, and their 'is it a small thing' in the verse before us is but the echo of his words in v.9. p.709.

Ans. No doubt, the phrase in v.7 is meant as a retort to that in v.3. But the expression in v.13, 'is it little,' is not identical with that in v.9, 'is it little for you'; and the later writer in v.9 may have only imitated the language of the O.S. in v.13 which lay before him.

70. v.24. *from about the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan and Abiram.*] *Render dwelling of Korah, &c.* The tent of Korah, as a Kohathite, stood on the south side of the tabernacle of the Lord, and those of Dathan and Abiram, as Reubenites, in the outer line of encampment on the same side. Yet, though the tents of these three were thus contiguous, the narrative, whilst not going into detail, suggests to us that they did not share the same fate. Korah and his company, who dared to intrude themselves on the priestly office, were destroyed by fire from the Lord at the door of the tabernacle of the Lord, v.35; the Reubenites, who had reviled Moses for the failure of the promises about the pleasant land, were suddenly engulfed, while standing at their own tent-doors in the barren wilderness, v.31-33 . . . *comp.* xxvi.10,11. This real and obviously undesigned coincidence between the statement in those verses and that in these is happily drawn out by Blunt, p.78,79. p.710.

Ans. As Korah did not live even in the same camp with Dathan and Abiram, it is clear that the expression in v.24,27, could not have been originally 'the tabernacle (dwelling) of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.' Accordingly in v.25 we read 'Moses arose and went unto Dathan and Abiram,' and so in v.27, 'and Dathan and Abiram came-forth,' from which it is plain that in v.24,27, stood originally 'the tabernacle of Dathan and Abiram,' the L.L. having interpolated 'Korah.'

In v.32 the O.S. makes the earth swallow the conspirators it names, *viz.* Dathan and Abiram—'them and their houses, both all the people (בְּתֵיבָתָם) and all the substance,' *comp.* G.xii.5—the phrase 'that (belonged) to Korah' being interpolated,—so that only 'they and all theirs went down into the pit,' v.33; whereas in v.35 the L.L. destroys *its* conspirators by fire, *viz.* the '250 men that offered incense,' with whom, no doubt, though he is not expressly named, Korah himself was meant to perish, v.16-18,40.

Blunt's 'Undesigned Coincidence' vanishes when it is seen that the notice in xxvi.10,11, that 'the sons of Korah died not,' belongs to the L.L., and was written probably by the very same hand which interpolated 'that (belonged) to Korah' in xvi.32, this expression being intended (as

Blunt assumes) to exclude 'the sons of Korah,' but introducing the discrepancy (as the story now stands) that 'all the *people* that belonged to Korah,' i.e. his servants or slaves,—Mr. ESPIN says, 'all belonging to him, who had associated themselves with him in this rebellion,' p.710—perished when 'the dwelling of *Dathan and Abiram* went down into the pit.' Accordingly, Blunt assumes (though Mr. ESPIN does not mention this extravagant notion) that 'the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram,' instead of being their 'dwelling,' as Mr. ESPIN rightly explains, was 'a tabernacle which these men, in their political rebellion and religious dissent (for they went together), had set up in common for themselves and their adherents, in opposition to the great Tabernacle of the Congregation'! p.78.

Chap.xvii(L.L.).

71. v.2. *Take of everyone of them a rod, &c. . . . write thou every man's name upon his rod*] comp. Ez.xxxvii.16, &c., 'Take thee one stick, and write upon it, For Judah, &c.' p.712.

Ans. The reference is important, as tending to show the close relation between Ezekiel and the L.L.

72. v.10. No doubt, the rod lay *in front of* the Tables within the Ark. It appears, 1K.viii.9, that in the days of Solomon there was nothing in the Ark save the two Tables. Aaron's rod, then, was probably lost when the Ark was taken by the Philistines. p.713.

Ans. Probably the L.L. meant the rod to be laid up, as above suggested, 'in front of the Tables,' which were 'within the Ark,' and not to be placed inside it. Yet Heb.ix.4 says distinctly that 'the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, and the tables of the covenant,' were all placed *within* the Ark. As 'Aaron's rod that budded' never really existed, except in the writer's imagination, nor 'the golden pot that had manna,' we need not consider when 'it was lost.'

73. v.12,13. A new section should begin with these verses. . . . The people were terror-stricken by the fate of the company of Korah at the door of the Tabernacle, followed by the plague in which so many thousands of their numbers had perished. Presumption passes by reaction into despair. Was there any approach for them to the Tabernacle of the Lord? Was there any escape from death, except by keeping aloof from His Presence? The answers are supplied by the ordinances that follow—ordinances which testified that the God of judgment was still a God of grace and of love. p.713.

Ans. No doubt, v.12,13, are intended, as above stated, to introduce the ordinances in ch.xviii. But these ordinances only 'testify' to the craft employed by the priesthood in those days, after the return from the Captivity, in order to maintain their usurped authority, and to bar the

depressed Levites, as well as the people, from any near approach to their Father, except through the intervention of the priest.

Chap.xviii(L.L.).

74. v.1. *thou and thy sons with thee shall bear the iniquity of your priesthood.]* As the priests themselves were but men, they could no more than others abide it, if God were extreme to mark what was done amiss. An atonement was consequently ordained for them; and *they were strengthened to bear the iniquity of their own unintentional offences*, by being entrusted with the ceremonial means of taking it away. p.714.

Ans. These priestly laws, which provide 'atonement' for 'the iniquity of unintentional offences,' must have tended to pervert the whole moral sense of the people. No wonder that, in our Saviour's time, the 'Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites,' paid tithe of mint, anise, and cummin, but 'omitted the weightier matters of the Law, judgment, mercy, and truth,' and taught others to do the same, 'blind guides, which strained at a gnat, but swallowed a camel,' Matt.xxiii.23-25!

75. v.15. *the firstborn of man shalt thou surely redeem, and the firstling of unclean beasts shalt thou redeem.]* A stronger expression is intentionally used in reference to the redemption of the firstborn of man than in reference to that of unclean beasts. For the rule as to the former admitted of no exception: the owner of the latter, if unwilling to redeem, might destroy the beasts, Ex.xiii.13, xxxiv.20. Usually, of course, he would redeem them; but, in the case of a diseased or maimed animal, he might well be excused from making a payment for that which, if redeemed, would be worthless. As to the mode of redemption of unclean beasts, it had been originally enjoined that the firstling of an ass should be redeemed with a lamb. But the owner of a beast might not be always able to provide a lamb, especially in the wilderness, and the liability was accordingly commuted, L.xxvii.27. Into all the details of this the present ordinances do not enter. Their object is not so much to prescribe accurately to the people what should be paid, as to assign to the priests their various revenues. p.715.

Ans. Perhaps the special stress laid on the redemption of the firstborns of man may have reference to the ancient practice of *sacrificing* them, as well as the firstlings of clean beasts (VI.369). But, whereas the O.S. probably *intended*, and D. has expressly *ordered* the firstborns of man to be redeemed, Ex.xiii.13, xxxiv.20,—probably with lambs or kids, comp. G.xxii.13, which were meant to be sacrificed and eaten, as the firstlings of the herd and the flock used to be by the offerers and their families, D.xv.20,—the L.L. provides that they shall be redeemed with money, 'five shekels after the shekel of the Sanctuary,' N.xviii.16, which has evidently to form part of the perquisites of the priest, v.15. But then the L.L. has also already inconsiderately redeemed the whole body of firstborns of Israel *for all time*,

both of men and cattle, by taking instead of them the Levites and the Levites' cattle, N.iii.41,45, &c.

So D. provides that the firstling of an ass shall be redeemed with a lamb or killed, E.xiii.13. But the L.L. here says that it is always to be redeemed, and, according to L.xxvii.27, redeemed with money, which also, of course, went to the priests, or else it was to be sold.

76. v.18. *as the wave-breast and as the right shoulder are thine.*] This reference to the earlier legislation of E.xxix.26-28 (*eventually modified by D.xviii.3!*) seems to indicate that the ordinance in question belongs to a comparatively early period of the years of wandering. p.715.

Ans. Moses, in D.xviii.3, 'eventually modifies' the express command of *Jehovah* in E.xxix.26, enjoined during that mysterious communing of 40 days on Sinai, and repeated again in L.vii.31,32,34, N.xviii.18!—substituting a *scantier* portion, 'the shoulder, two cheeks (head), and maw (tripe-stomach),' of the sacrifice for the more sumptuous *Divine* provision of the 'brisket and hind-leg' (not 'shoulder,' see *Intr. to Lev.* 8)! And what utter disregard of chronological order on the part of Moses these laws exhibit, if this ordinance in N.xviii 'belongs to a comparatively early period of the years of wandering,' while those in N.xv were issued 'when the period of the wanderings was *drawing towards its close*!' p.705.

Of course, the L.L. here refers to its own previous notices in E.xxix.26-28, L.vii.31,32,34, in which the priests after the Captivity secured to themselves a better portion of the sacrifices than they were allowed in the Deuteronomist's time.

77. v.21. *all the tenth in Israel.*] Now first the Lord's tithes are assigned to the Levites for their support. The payment of tithes to them is recognized in Neh.x.37, xii.44, Tobit i.7. *Whether the Levites received the tithes of live stock, as well as of produce, seems doubtful.* In no passage is there distinct mention of the former being theirs; and, as a large number of animals must have been required for the public sacrifices, it is *probable that the tithes of live stock were used for this purpose.* p.716.

Ans. Yet elsewhere Mr. ESPIN lays special stress on this very point, viz. that the tithes of *animal*, as well as vegetable produce, were paid to the Levites, who were to give a tithe to the priests, as expressly distinguishing (what he calls) the '*first*' or '*Levitical*' tithe from the '*second*' tithe, i.e. the tithes which D. directs to be used by the offerer and his family in feasting, 'not forsaking the Levite,' D.xiv.27, nor other needy and destitute persons, v.29! Thus he says:—

These regulations of Deuteronomy undoubtedly are altogether different from those of the preceding books upon the subject; but they are neither inconsistent with them, nor do they supersede them. They refer one and all not to the general

and first tithe of all produce both animal and vegetable, but to the second and additional tithe taken on the increase of the field only. This latter was not for the maintenance of the priests and Levites, but for the celebration of the sacred feasts. . . . There appears to be no express mention in Deuteronomy of the first tithe, out of which the priests and Levites were to be supported. p.797. (See *Intr. to Deut.* 22, *Deut.* 60,61.)

No reference can be given to any pre-Captivity writing, which recognizes the payment of tithes to the Levites; though *IS.viii.15,17*, implies that the *king* would take tithes of produce and live-stock; while (as above stated) *D.xiv.22-29* enjoins the tithing of 'corn, wine, and oil'—the very same tithe which is 'recognized in *Neh.x.37,38*, *xii.44*' as paid to the Levites, *i.e.* a *vegetable* tithe only—which is not, however, to be given to the Levites at all, but used for a feast for the offerer and his children and servants, two years together at the future Temple, and every third year at home; 'and the Levite, and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, which are within thy gates, shall come and shall eat and be satisfied,' *v.29*; and *D.xxvi.12* assumes that the third year's tithe, at all events, will be so employed by all pious Israelites.

As *D.* speaks of no other 'tithes,' though he specifies the provision for the priests (= Levites) from sacrifices and firstfruits in *D.xviii.3,4*, it is probable that in later days the Levites *at first* only claimed these tithes, which agrees with the language of *N.xviii.27,30*, 'as the corn (increase) of the threshing-floor and as the fulness (increase) of the winepress,' though in a still later passage of the *L.L.*, *L.xxvii.32*, we find mention made of 'the tithe of the herd and of the flock' being 'holy unto the Lord,' *comp.* *2Ch.* *xxxix.6*, which seems to show that the demand for the Sanctuary had increased. How far these tithes were actually paid is another question, which cannot be settled by reference to *Neh.x.37,38*, *xii.44*, due to the Chronicler (*VII*) or to the manifestly fictitious book of Tobit, where, moreover, the tithes are paid to the 'sons of Aaron.'

78. *v.23.* *The Levites shall do the service of the Tent of Meeting, and they shall bear their iniquity.*] The words are ambiguous. They probably refer to the iniquity of the people, who would, had they approached the Tabernacle, have fallen, from their proneness to transgress, into overt acts of offence. Against such a result they were, through the ministrations of the Levites, mercifully protected, *comp.* *v.1*, *L.xix.17.* p.716.

Ans. The above *may* be the meaning of the passage, as *v.1* would seem to imply: the reference to *L.xix.17* is clearly erroneous. But there is a remarkable resemblance, which deserves consideration, between this passage and *Ez.xliv.10-14*, where 'the Levites that went astray from Jehovah when Israel went astray after their idols,' *v.10,12*—in other words, the 'priests of

the high places' who had taken part in idolatrous worship, 2K.xxiii.9, and their descendants—are to 'bear their iniquity,' by not being allowed to 'come near to Jehovah to do the office of a priest,' but shall be 'ministers in the sanctuary, stationed at the gates of the House, slaying the sacrifices, &c.,' = 'doing the service of the Tent of Meeting,' N.xviii.23, and so, it is added, they 'shall bear their shame and the abominations which they have committed,' v.13.

79. v.24. *the tithes of the children of Israel which they heave as an heave-offering unto the Lord.*] It is possible that all that is meant is, that the tithes, being solemnly set apart for sacred purposes, became virtually a heave-offering, like the gifts for the Tabernacle, E.xxv.2. There is no reason to think that the tithes were in fact 'heaved' or 'waved' before the Lord, though they were appropriated just as were those offerings that were heaved or waved. p.716.

Ans. It is, of course, possible and probable that the words 'heave' and 'wave' acquired in course of time a secondary sense, as these tithes are to be 'heaved' and the Levites 'waved,' viii.11, comp. xxxi.28,29. But, since these expressions indicate a difference in the mode of offering, they can hardly have been used without some reference to the corresponding ceremony. And it is quite possible that the writer here, as in the case of the Levites (24-26), may have lost sight of the practical difficulty of 'heaving' all these tithes before Jehovah, if they were really paid; though the ceremony may have been performed with small offerings, or perhaps with small quantities of a larger offering.

80. v.29. *out of all your gifts.*] The spirit of this law would extend to all the revenues of the Levites; and we may thus assume that of the increase of their cattle, as well as of their tithes, a tithe was paid by them for the Lord's service. p.716.

Ans. Whatever 'the spirit of this law' might require, there is no indication that the Levites were enjoined to pay 'for the Lord's service,' i.e. for the benefit of the priests, anything beyond the tithe of their tithes of corn, oil, and wine; and, as there were only *three* priests at this time (Aaron, Eleazar, and Ithamar), who were provided with enormous supplies from the sacrifices, besides the tenth of the Levites' tithes, the suggestion seems very unreasonable.

Chap.xix(L.L.).

81. The rites of purifying prescribed amongst various nations have points of similarity to those laid down in this chapter. . . . *Moses, then, adopted, here as elsewhere, existing and ancient customs, with significant additions, as helps in the education of his people.* p.717.

Ans. It is *Moses* then, not *Jehovah*, who adopts these ancient customs 'as

helps for the education of his people,' though in *v.1* we read 'Jehovah spake unto Moses and unto Aaron'!

82. The ordinance was probably given at this time because the plague which happened about the matter of Korah, *xvi.46-50*, had spread the defilement of death so widely through the camp as to seem to require some special measures of purification, more particularly as the deaths through it were in an extraordinary manner the penalty of sin. *p.717*.

Ans. As more than 1,000 deaths were occurring weekly, besides the 3,000 slain in *E.xxxii.28*, and as, moreover, 'defilement' by death 'is assumed in various enactments made already, *L.x.1[?],7, xi.8,11,24, xxi.1, &c., N.v.2, ix.6, &c.,*' *p.717*, it would seem that such an ordinance as this must have been needed long before, and that it is very much out of its proper place in its present position.

83. *v.3*. The particular pollution to be remedied by this ordinance ['the ashes of a red heifer sprinkling the unclean'] was the indirect one resulting from contact with tokens and manifestations of sin, not the direct and personal one arising from actual commission of sin.

v.11-22. One practical effect of thus attaching defilement to a dead body, to all that touched it, &c., would be to insure early burial, and to correct a practice not uncommon in the East, of leaving the dead to be devoured by the wild beasts. *p.718*.

Ans. Why, then, have we not an order that all bodies, bones, &c., shall be at once interred, instead of its being declared that a man who touches a corpse or a fragment of human bone, or even comes into a tent where a person has died, shall be unclean seven days, *v.11,14,16*, and, if he shall not purify himself, shall be 'cut off from among the congregation,' *v.20*? How truly might men be 'clean' without, according to such rules, and yet within be 'full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness'!

Chap.xx.1,14-22(O.S.),2-13,23-29(L.L.).

84. *v.1. even the whole congregation.*] The A.V. rightly marks the expression as emphatic by inserting the word 'even.' The words occur before in *xiii.26* and *xiv.1*, at the commencement of the tedious period of penal wandering. Their use again now serves to mark its close, and points to a reassembling of the people for the purpose of at last resuming the advance to the Promised Land. *p.719*.

Ans. The words 'the whole congregation' occur in a number of other places, *L.viii.3, ix.5, x.6, xxiv.14,16, N.i.18, iii.7, xiv.2,10,35,36, xv.24,33, 35,36, xvi.3,19,22, &c.,* and *comp.* 'all the congregation of the children of Israel' in a multitude of others, *E.xii.3,47, xvi.1,2,9,10, xvii.1, xxxv.1,4, 20, &c.*; whereas the entire phrase in the passage before us, 'the children of

Israel, the whole congregation,' does *not* occur either in xiii.26 or in xiv.1, quoted above, but does occur in xx.22, *comp.* xxvii.21, without the slightest reason for 'marking it as emphatic.'

85. v.1. The long 38 years which intervene are almost a blank; they can hardly be said to form a portion of the history of God's people at all, for the covenant, though not cancelled, was still in abeyance. A veil is accordingly thrown by Moses over this dreary interval during which the rebellious generation was wasting away. *p.*720.

Ans. Yet there were the Levites and the women and the new host growing year by year, till at the end of the 38 years there were 600,000 warriors once more, upon whom the doom had not been passed. Had these no history as 'God's people'? Nay, during this interval, while 'the covenant was in abeyance,' were delivered the 'enactments' in xv,xviii,xix, according to Mr.ESPIN, *p.*649, not to speak of the Divine interference in xvii.

The simple fact is, that the O.S. knew nothing whatever about these 38 years, but passed on from xvi.34 to xx.1, and then to xx.14 (see the translation in VL.ch.xiii); and though D. introduces the term of 40 years, i.3, and consequently the idea of 38 years' wandering, ii.14, he does not supply any incidents to fill up this interval, and alludes throughout only to the O.S. as it lay before him in his time without the insertions of the L.L. (VL.39, &c.). Accordingly, the L.L., having no original matter to expand and modify, except that in xvi, has left the whole interval 'almost a blank,' retouching the story in xvi, and indeed very strongly colouring it in the interest of priestly authority, but introducing besides only a few 'enactments,' as above, and the single additional incident in xv.32-36.

86. v.1. The words before us seem to hint, what is in itself natural and likely, that the 'congregation' *was during these years broken up*. No doubt, round the Tabernacle there continued an organized camp consisting of the Levites and others, which was moved from time to time up and down the country. But there was no longer any reason for the coherence of the whole people in mass; and we may accordingly believe that *they were scattered over the face of the wilderness of Paran, and led a nomadic life as best suited the pasturage of the cattle*.

It is thus that the modern Bedouins maintain very large flocks and herds in these deserts. 'On one occasion,' says Mr. J. L. Porter, 'I rode for two successive days through the flocks of a section of the Anazeh tribe; and the encampment of the chief was then at a noted fountain thirty miles distant; yet the country was swarming with men and women, boys and girls, looking after the cattle. *p.*720.

Ans. Elsewhere, however, when his argument needs it, Mr.ESPIN takes a totally different view of the manner in which the Israelites lived in the wilderness.

During the lifetime of Moses, he himself, specially inspired and guided by God, was sufficient with the aid of the subordinate judges . . . for the duties in ques-

tion, and the more so, because *the nation had thus far lived in encampment together, and so within a small compass.* p.858.

Accordingly, in the only incidents recorded as occurring within these 38 years 'the whole congregation' is repeatedly spoken of as present, xv.33,35, 36, xvi.3,19,22,41. What, in fact, is the meaning of the elaborate arrangement of the camps in N.ii, on all four sides of the Tabernacle, if they were not to be at hand at all times to defend it? In the face of these directions, what does it matter that Mr.PORTER witnessed the scene above described? Besides, we are not told for how many weeks the pasturage in question lasted; whereas the Israelites with their multitudinous flocks and herds had to spend the whole year long in the desert. And, though Mr.ESPIN says—

We can hardly doubt that during the year's sojourn at Sinai there would be a dispersion of the people for the purpose of foraging, p.730—

there is no trace of it in the history; and they would not, at all events, be likely to gather supplies enough to maintain them in the *winter* season, when 'the whole of the upper Sinai is deeply covered with snow,' and, as a traveller writes, who visited the peninsula in that season, while others, *e.g.* Mr.PORTER, have only seen it during the finest time of the year—'It is difficult to imagine a scene more desolate and terrific than that which is discovered from the summit of Sinai. A haze limited the prospect, and, except a glimpse of the sea in one direction, nothing was within sight but snow, huge peaks, and crags of naked granite'; while as to the view from Mount St. Catherine he writes: 'The view from hence is of the same kind, only much more extensive than from the top of Sinai. . . . Sinai was far below us: all the rest, wherever the eye could reach, was a vast wilderness, and a confusion of granite mountains and valleys destitute of verdure.'—CONDER'S *Modern Traveller, Arabia*, pp.159,160.

87. v.1. Although it is no part of the plan of Scripture to give details on this subject, yet one or two incidental notices throw light upon it. It is evident, *e.g.*, from D.ii.26–29, that the Israelites had traffic in provisions with surrounding tribes. Indeed, the regular highway of the caravans from the East to Egypt, and *vice versa*, lay across the Desert of the Wandering. And from Ps.lxxiv.14 it appears to have been the belief of a later generation that fish were occasionally at least to be had, no doubt from the Gulf of Akabah, on which was the encampment, xxxiii.35, and where it may have been for years. p.720.

Ans. D.ii.26–29, *comp.* N.xxi.21,22, refers only to the time when they had come out of the wilderness, N.xxi.20, and wished to pass peaceably through the country of Sihon. Whatever may be the case with regard to 'the regular highway of the caravans from the East to Egypt,' there is not the least indication that the Israelites derived any benefit from them. On

the contrary, if they could neither buy clothing nor shoes, D.viii.4, xxix.5, nor procure bread to eat, or wine or strong drink, xxix.6, for daily food (though we must assume that they had wine enough for sacrificial purposes), it would seem that they could not have had very extensive dealings with these 'caravans.' How Ps.lxxiv.14 shows a belief in later days that 'fish were occasionally at least to be had' is not very clear. The words are, 'Thou brakest the heads of Leviathan in pieces, and gavest him for meat to the people of desert-dwellers'; and all interpreters (as far as I am aware) explain the Leviathan or Crocodile as a symbol of Egypt; whereas some take the 'desert-dwellers' to be the wild-beasts, jackals, &c., to which the bodies of the Egyptians became a prey when thrown up on the shores of the Red Sea, while others take them to mean the Israelites, to whom the Egyptian host became metaphorically 'meat.' According to Mr. ESPIN, apparently, *Leviathans* literally—that is, huge sea-monsters—were 'occasionally to be had, no doubt, from the Gulf of Akabah'!

88. Nothing, too, is better ascertained than the fact that the resources of the whole district were in ancient times vastly greater than they now are. The traces of a population, fertility, and wealth, that have long passed away, are found by every traveller. The language used in D.i.19, viii.15, &c., respecting the hardships of the journey through the wilderness, belongs more particularly to the latest marches in the fortieth year through the Arabah, rather than to the whole period of the wanderings, and is such as would naturally suggest itself to one who entered after toilsome wayfaring upon the fertile pastures of Gilead and Bashan. p.720.

Ans. But D.viii.4, xxix.5,6, expressly speak of their being led 'forty years in the wilderness,' during which time they had no change of shoes or clothing, and no supplies of bread, or wine, or strong drink. Nor is it easy to see how D.i.19 can be said to 'belong more particularly to the latest marches in the fortieth year,' when it distinctly says, 'When *we departed from Horeb*, we went through all *that great and terrible wilderness*, &c. . . . and we came to Kadesh-Barnea,' which last expression refers plainly to the camp in N.xiii.xiv: *comp.* also E.xvi.2,3, xvii.3, N.xi.4-6. From all this it is plain that it is a mere evasion of the true meaning of the story to say that 'the language used respecting the hardships of the journey through the wilderness belongs more particularly to the latest marches in the fortieth year.' Whatever may have been the 'resources' of the district in 'ancient times,' the story represents the Israelites as suffering hardships all along, as unable to purchase linen or leather, grain or wine.

89. v.1. The Israelites also had doubtless these natural resources supplemented, where needful, by miraculous aid. We can hardly think that the manna, or the occasional bestowal of quails or of water, which are actually recorded, were the

only facts of the kind that took place. Rather are those facts mentioned as examples, selected because of some special instruction wrapped up in the particular instances. . . . It is probable, indeed, and seems remarkably suggested by the language of many later references, that the miraculous supply of water for the people and their cattle was, as in this chapter, *v.8,11*, and earlier at Rephidim on the march to Sinai, *E.xvii.1*, &c., so elsewhere, one of God's frequent mercies to them, *comp. Ju.v.4*, &c., *Ps.lxviii.7,(10)*, &c. . . . It must be added, too, that the Israelites, from their sojourn in Egypt, were familiar with artificial irrigation, and well able to husband and turn to account all available supplies of water, whether ordinary or extraordinary. *p.720.*

Ans. The story, as it now stands, tells us that the people were miraculously supplied with manna for forty years, *E.xvi.35*, *comp. N.xxi.5*; but there is no indication in the narrative that 'the miraculous supply of water was one of God's frequent mercies to them': rather, *N.xx.2*, &c., implies the contrary.

Ju.v.3,4,5, is almost verbally identical with *Ps.lxviii.4,7,8*, and on our view is merely copied from the Psalm (*VII.90*): but in any case the two quotations above given amount only to a single reference to the Psalm, whatever may there be meant by 'the heavens dropping,' *v.8*, or 'the plentiful rain,' *v.9*, when Jehovah 'went forth before His people.'

Probably 'the heavens dropped' in *v.8* refers to the 'thick cloud' in *E.xix.16* = the 'thick darkness' *xx.21*, like that of a murky thunderstorm, 'dropping rain,' which settled down on Mount Sinai, as clearly 'the earth shook, even Sinai itself at the presence of Elohim,' refers to the whole mount quaking in *E.xix.18*. But the 'plentiful rain' in *v.9* appears to allude to the *manna*, which is expressly spoken of in *E.xvi.4*, *Ps.lxxviii.23*, *24*, as 'rained from heaven' (*HUFF. Ps. III.p.208*).

It is a strange notion that the Israelites would have been able to 'turn to account,' amidst the crags and ravines of the wilderness, the Egyptian methods of 'artificial irrigation,' adapted to the overflow of the Nile in a perfectly flat country.

90. v.1. Yet, though God's extraordinary bounty was thus still vouchsafed to them, it is probable that this period was, amongst the perishing generation at all events, one of great religious declension or even apostasy. To it must, no doubt, be referred such passages as *Ez.xx.15*, &c., *Am.v.25,26*, *Hos.ix.10*. *p.721.*

Ans. *Hos.ix.10* distinctly refers to the worship of Baal-Peor, that is, evidently to *N.xxv.1-5*, when they had already conquered Sihon and Og, and were within 'six weeks' of entering Canaan, *p.650*. And with this example before us, as well as that of *E.xxxii*, it is idle to talk of the 'thirty-eight years' of wandering being specially a time of 'great religious declension or even apostasy.'

91. v.1. into the desert of Zin.] The place of encampment was, no doubt,

adjacent to the spring of Kadesh. On the former occasion they probably encamped on the more level ground of the wilderness of Paran to the *west*, but now, for some reason unknown to us, on the hills of the wilderness of Zin to the *east*. Hence, perhaps, the difference of the terms used in reference to these two encampments at Kadesh, xii.16, xiii.26. p.721.

Ans. The phrase 'to Kadesh' in xiii.26 is probably an interpolation of the L.L. (VI.94). But in any case the O.S. in xii.16, xiii.3,26, says that they were encamped in 'the wilderness of Paran,' so that 'Kadesh' in v.26 must mean 'Kadesh-Barnea,' whereas the Kadesh here spoken of (xx.1) is Petra (53), in the neighbourhood of Mount Hor, v.22.

92. v.1. *in the first month*] of the *fortieth* year of the Exodus. p.721.

Ans. It is utterly incredible that Moses or any writer should in this manner have made a sudden leap of 38 years in his narrative, without giving the slightest notice to the reader. On our view, the O.S. in this expression merely means 'the first month of the *second* year' (VI.104), unless indeed the phrase may have been inserted here by the L.L., *comp.* N.xxxiii.3, in preparation for its own account of the death of Aaron, N.xx. 23-29, 'in the first day of the fifth month,' xxxiii.38.

93. v.2-6. The language of the murmurers is noteworthy. *It has the air of a traditional remonstrance handed down from the last generation.* p.721.

Ans. Because the L.L. imitates the language of the O.S. in the narrative (E.xvii.3) of the similar event 38 years previously, or its own earlier language in N.xiv.2, there is here 'the air of a traditional remonstrance handed down from the last generation'!

94. v.8. *take the rod.*] Not the budding rod of xvii.5, but that with which the miracles in Egypt had been wrought, E.vii.8, &c., 19, &c., viii.5, &c., and which had been used on a similar occasion at Rephidim, E.xvii.5, &c. This rod, as the memorial of so many Divine interpositions, was naturally laid up in the Tabernacle, and is accordingly described now as taken by Moses 'from before the Lord,' v.9. p.721.

Ans. Which rod was thus laid up, the rod of *Moses* or the rod of *Aaron*, with which (according to L.L.) he always acts in the case of the miracles in Egypt, E.vii.9,10,12, viii.5,6,16,17? For some time after these miracles, at all events, and for nine months after that in E.xvii.5,6,9, *comp.* xix.1, neither of them could have been so 'laid up,' since the Sanctuary itself was not in existence till the end of the first year of the wanderings, E.xl.2.

95. v.8. *the rock.*] Heb. *sela*, 'cliff,' a different word from *zur*, by which the 'rock' in Horeb is designated. p.721.

Ans. Hence we infer that D. in D.viii.15, where *zur* is used, refers to the 'rock' in E.xvii.6 of the O.S., and not to the 'cliff' of the L.L. in this

passage, which did not exist in his time. On the other hand, Neh.ix.15, Ps.lxxviii.16, where *sela* is used, refer to the later story in N.xx.2-13.

N.B. *Sela* is used for Petra (Kadesh) in 2K.xiv.7, 1s.xvi.1, and *comp.* 2Ch.xxv.12.

96. v.10. *rebels.*] Heb. המרים. This is probably the word used by our Lord in the Sermon on the Mount, Matt.v.22, and rendered rather after the sound than the sense by the Greek *μωρέ*. . . . *The words Marah and Meribah are cognate.* p.724.

Ans. The first remark may be just. But how Marah (מרה) can be cognate with Meribah (מריבה, from ריב) it is difficult to see, or rather the assertion is altogether erroneous.

97. v.13. *the water of Meribah*] *i.e.* Strife. The place is called 'Meribah in Kadesh,' xxvii.14, and 'Meribah-Kadesh,' D.xxxii.51, to distinguish it from the 'Meribah' of E.xvii.2, &c. The fact of this addition to the common name, and the diverse circumstances of the two cases, show that we have not here another version of the same occurrence. p.722.

Ans. D. knows nothing about 'Meribah-Kadesh,' for D.xxxii.51 (VI.129), as well as N.xxvii.14 (VI.116), belongs to L.L.; but he refers repeatedly to the occurrence at the 'Meribah' of E.xvii.7 (O.S.), speaking of their 'tempting' Jehovah, vi.16, as in E.xvii.2,7, of the 'rock (*zur*),' viii.15, as in E.xvii.6, and naming 'Massah,' vi.16, ix.22, as in E.xvii.7. This story of the L.L. is manifestly a mere imitation of the older narrative.

98. v.14. It appears from comparing xx.1 with xxxiii.38 that the host must have remained in Kadesh some three or four months. No doubt, time was required for reorganization. It may be also that they proposed, as 38 years previously, to invade Canaan from this quarter, but were prevented by obstacles of which they had for a time reason to hope for the removal. The passage of Egyptian troops through the west and south of Canaan might be such an obstacle. Eventually, however, they were, for reasons which we can but conjecture, moved round to the eastern frontier, through the territory of Moab. In order to gain the banks of Jordan by the shortest route, they had to march nearly due east from Kadesh, and pass through the heart of the Edomitish mountains. p.722.

Ans. The O.S. in v.1 says that 'they dwelt in Kadesh'—'many days according to the days that ye dwelt there,' says D.i.46—but makes no allusion whatever to any necessity for 'reorganization.' Apparently, the sojourn in the wilderness (though not extended in the O.S. to forty years) was meant originally to be of tedious length, and together with the weary march from Kadesh to Mount Hor, v.22, and 'from Mount Hor by the way of the Red Sea, to compass the land of Edom,' xxi.4, was designed to realise the doom pronounced in xiv.22-25 (O.S.). On this view there is no neces-

sity—rather there is not the least reason—for supposing that they ‘proposed, as 38 years previously, to invade Canaan from this (the south) quarter, but were prevented by obstacles, as the passage of Egyptian troops through the west and south of Canaan.’ But, if they had already been wandering for 38 years and at last had been mustered once more at Kadesh, it must seem strange that they should now—‘for reasons which we can but conjecture’!—be sent down again ‘by the way of the Red Sea,’ *exactly as had been ordered 38 years previously*, xiv.25, though on our view the matter is perfectly clear and intelligible. It is plain that the language in v.14–16 implies that they had but *recently* come out of Egypt, not nearly forty years previously.

99. v.22. *Mount Hor.*] This striking mountain, rising on a dark red bare rock to a height of nearly 5,000 feet above the Mediterranean, is remarkable far and near for its two summits, on one of which is still shown a small square building, crowned with a dome, called the Tomb of Aaron. The host was doubtless encamped in the Arabah below, whilst Aaron and his companions ascended the mountain ‘in the sight of the congregation,’ v.27. Though Hor unquestionably lay within the territory of Edom, yet there could be no unfriendly trespass in the mere ascent of its barren heights by the three leaders of the host, especially whilst a friendly reply to their peaceful message was expected. . . . The congregation could not, however, witness the actual transaction on the mountain-top. Thus in his death, as in his life (xvii), is Aaron’s dignity guarded by God. p.723.

Ans. As Mount Hor is 4,000 feet above the level of the Arabah, its ascent must have been at least as fatiguing as that of Snowdon or the Table Mountain at the Cape, which are 3,571ft. and 3,582ft. above the level of the sea respectively, not taking into account any special difficulties in climbing which might arise from the character of this ‘red sandstone mass, from its base upwards rocky and naked, not a bush or a tree to relieve the rugged and broken corners of the sandstone blocks which compose it,’ *D.B.* I.p.824. If Moses at the age of 120 and Aaron at that of 123, together with Eleazar, accomplished this feat ‘in the sight of all the congregation,’ who (it seems) had no other satisfaction except that of watching them as they laboriously climbed,—who at least ‘could not witness the actual transaction on the mountain-top,’—it is hardly necessary to insist upon their having made ‘no unfriendly trespass’ upon the territory of Edom in so doing. But were not the two millions of Israelites ‘encamped in the Arabah below’ more likely to have been regarded as ‘trespassers’?

Chap.xxi.1–13,16–26,31–35(O.S.),14,15,27–30(D.).

100. v.1. *by the way of the spies*] i.e. through the desert of Zin, the route which the spies sent out by Moses 38 years before had adopted, xiii.21. p.724.

Ans. xiii.21 is an interpolation of the L.L.: the O.S. merely says that 'they went up by the Negeb, &c.,' v.22. It does not appear whether this expression 'by the way of the spies' is used here by the writer in stating the fact, or by the people who reported the matter to the Canaanite king. But the passage is explained very naturally on our view, which supposes that no 38 years had elapsed since the spies went-up to search the land, but only a sojourn at Kadesh, and that the people—who had at first refused to go-up, xiv.1, &c., but had afterwards done so in defiance of Jehovah's command, v.40, &c., and had probably gone 'by the way of the spies,'—had been smitten by the Amalekites and 'Canaanites who dwelt in the hill-country,' and who, perhaps, are identical with 'the Canaanite king of Arad,' p.724, in xxi.1.

101. v.1. *he fought against Israel.*] This can hardly have taken place after the death of Aaron. The king of Arad cannot be supposed to have waited until the host had marched more than 60 miles away from his borders to Mount Hor, and was in full march further away, before attacking them. Nor can the Israelites, on the other hand, have laid aside their journey towards Canaan, retraced their steps into the wilderness of Zin, and returned to Kadesh in order to invade Arad which lay north of that place. The attack of the king was most probably made just when the camp broke up from Kadesh, and the ultimate direction of the march was not as yet pronounced. The words, 'when the king . . . heard tell that Israel came by the way of the spies,' seem to hint that the king of Arad apprehended that the invasion of Canaan would be attempted from the same quarter as before, xiv.40-45, and determined to take the offensive, and try to drive back his enemies ere they reached his territory. The insult was, no doubt, avenged as soon as the host was ready for action. The order of the narrative in these chapters, as occasionally elsewhere in this book, is not that of time, but of subject-matter; and the war against Arad is introduced here as the first of the series of victories gained under Moses, which the historian now takes in hand to narrate. p.724.

Ans. It will be obvious that the above remarks tend to confirm strongly our view, as expressed in (100), viz. that this passage describes the revenge taken by the Israelites by Divine permission, v.3, before starting 'by the way of the Red Sea,' v.4, as commanded in xiv.25, for the defeat they had experienced at the hands of the Canaanite king of Arad and his Amalekite allies, v.1, as already recorded in xiv.45 (VI.106-7). They were now at Mount Hor; and, if Kadesh was 'the mysterious city of Petra close beneath it on the eastern side,' it is plain that, when encamped under Mount Hor, they would have approached *nearest* to the king of Arad, before treading southward, and may therefore be supposed to have sent off the expedition for this reprisal from that encampment—in which case the narrative falls into its proper place in the O.S.

102. v.3. *Hormah.*] In Jud.17 we read that the men of Judah and Simeon

'slew the Canaanites that inhabited Zephath, and utterly destroyed it,' and further that 'the name of the city was called Hormah.' But it does not follow that the name 'Hormah' was first bestowed in consequence of the destruction of the place in the time of the Judges, and that in Numbers its occurrence is a sign of a post-Mosaic date of composition. The text of N.xxi.3 informs us that this aggression of the king of Arad was repelled and avenged by the capture and sack of his cities, and that the Israelites 'banned' them. But it was not the plan of the Israelites in the time of Moses to remain in this district. They, therefore, marched away south-eastward; and, no doubt, for the time the Canaanites resumed possession, and restored the ancient name (Zephath). But Joshua again conquered the king of this district, and finally in the time of the early Judges the ban of Moses and his contemporaries was fully executed. We have, therefore, in the passage before us the history of the actual origin of the name 'Hormah.' p.725.

Ans. The above explanation is, of course, admissible, so far as it goes, in defence of the traditionary view. But our knowledge of the general character of the story in the Pentateuch must cast a serious doubt upon the historical reality of the story before us in N.xxi.1-3.

103. v.14. *the book of the wars of the Lord.*] Of this book nothing is known except what may be gathered from the passage before us. It was apparently a collection of sacred odes, commemorative of that triumphant progress of God's people which this chapter records. . . . The allusion to this book cannot supply any valid argument against the Mosaic authorship of Numbers. p.727.

Ans. On this point see (*Intr. to Num.* 12).

104. v.17,18. This song, recognized by all authorities as dating from the earliest times . . . in after times may well have been the water-drawing song of the maidens of Israel.

by the direction of the lawgiver.] Render, *with the lawgiver's sceptre*, i.e. under the direction and with the authority of Moses. p.728.

Ans. No doubt, the song is ancient, but not therefore Mosaic. The phrase 'with the lawgiver's sceptre,' like that which follows, 'with their staves,' expresses the *instrument* with which the well was dug on some occasion, when the prince and his officers all lent a hand with their staves in the work. That chief, of course, *may* have been Moses; but there is nothing whatever to indicate this.

105. v.23. *Jahaz.*] The town which gave its name to the battle-field, and which grateful memories converted in after days into a Levitical city. p.729.

Ans. In 'after days' truly, since the 'Levitical cities' in N.xxxv (VI.124) and J.xxi(VI.186) are entirely a fiction of the L.L.

106. v.26. *all his land.*] Evidently *that to the north of Arnon is alone intended*—an example of the limitation with which the Biblical statements must be some-

times understood, and which may be legitimately assumed in many cases where no direct proof of it can be furnished. p.729.

Ans. Since the text says distinctly, 'and he took all his land out of his hand as far as Arnon,' it is difficult to see the relevance of the above annotation. The 'Biblical statement' in this case appears to be very accurate.

107. v.29. The derivation and significance of the name Chemosh are uncertain. The most probable conjecture is that adopted by Gesenius, who refers it to the root כנש, 'vanquish, subdue,' the labial letters מ and נ being, as they often are, interchanged. . . . Other less probable derivations are that of Fürst, who derives Chemosh from כמש, 'burn' or 'glow,' and regards him as the 'Fire-God' . . . and that of Clericus, which would represent Chemosh as the 'Sun-God.'

Recent enquiries have, however, more and more suggested the opinion that the different names assigned to the heathen deities of ancient Oriental Mythology are in origin and principle nothing more than the recognition separately of the attributes belonging to the one supreme God. These in the progress of corruption and superstition were attached one by one to idols of various names, and became localized usually upon special occasions and circumstances, and with various rites in different places. Thus the diverse names, Chemosh, Ashtoreth, Baal, Molech, &c., would seem to point to one central, original, comprehensive conception, of which these several cults represent portions and depravations. Of this idea the Moabite stone has furnished a new and very striking illustration. It makes mention, in connection with the capture of Nebo, of a god called 'Ashtar-Chemosh.' This title at once connects the Moabite religion with the Phœnician, in which Ashtar, the masculine form of Astarte or Ashtoreth, represents one side (*i.e.* the male) of the creative and reproductive power, which is conceived to be one of the leading attributes of God.

It would thus seem probable that Chemosh, in one at least of the manifestations in which the Moabites venerated him, was connected with the androgynous deities of Phœnicia. Amongst them we have not only Ashtar, the masculine form of Astarte and identified with Baal, but Astarte herself spoken of as 'the King,' 'the Sun-God,' 'the Face of Baal,' &c.: *comp.* the 'Venus Victrix' and 'Venus Amathusia,' 'eadem mæ et fœmina,' of classical art and literature. It is probably because Baal was frequently worshipped as an androgynous deity, and not by way of contempt (as has been commonly supposed), that the name has the feminine article several times in the LXX, *e.g.* Hos.ii.8, Zeph.i.4, Tobit i.5, *comp.* Rom.xi.4.*

* ἡ Βάαλ occurs also in 2K.xxi.3, Jer.ii.8,23,28, vii.9, xi.13,17, xii.16, xix.5, xxiii.13,27, Hos.xiii.1.—N.B. Jeremiah has it *always*. But in Toh.i.5 we have ἔθρον τῆ Βάαλ τῇ δαμάλει, 'they sacrificed to Baal the heifer,' and so the LXX has in 2K.x.29 'the golden *heifers* which were in Bethel and Dan,' and uses δάμαλις, 'heifer,' continually in 1K.xii.28-32. It is possible, therefore, that the image of the Baal was not a steer, but a *heifer*, and hence the feminine article ἡ Βάαλ, *comp.* αἱ Βααλῖμ, 1S.vii.4, 2Ch.xxiv.7. See my 'Oort's *Baalim*,' p.14.

Accordingly the worship of Chemosh assumed various forms in different places, and was accompanied by a ritual appropriate to the special attribute to be praised or propitiated. As the god of War and Victory he exacted human sacrifices, 2K.iii.26,27; and Mesha on the Moabite stone declares himself, after taking Ataroth . . . to have killed all the warriors for the well-pleasing of Chemosh and Moab, and to have taken out of the city all the spoil and dedicated it also to Chemosh, *comp.* the precisely similar treatment of Jericho by Joshua, J.vi.17,18, [and of Rabbah by David, 2S.xii.29-31, *comp.* viii.12]. As the lord of productiveness he is probably identical with Baal-Peor, as Jerome long ago surmised (פְּעוֹר, *aperire*). . . . He was probably also worshipped as the 'Sun-God.' p.732.

Ans. The above very strikingly illustrates the view expressed in (VI.574, &c.), that the worship of the Hebrews in Canaan, like that of the neighbouring peoples, was originally the worship of YAHVE as the Sun-God, whom they revered, after the example of the tribes around them, as 'the Baal' or lord of the land, and ultimately adopted as their own National Deity in the days of Saul and David. Hence we can account for the lascivious rites practised at Jerusalem in the Temple itself, and evidently in honour of YAHVE, *e.g.* the prostitution of male and female devotees alluded to in D.xxiii.18, and only suppressed by Josiah—with priests like Hilkiah and prophets like Jeremiah by his side, and himself a mere youth, over whom therefore the influence of such advisers would be very great—in the eighteenth year of his reign, 2K.xxii.3, xxiii.7. Hence also we can explain the offering of human sacrifices in honour of YAHVE, G.xxii.1-19, Ju.xi.30-40, *comp.* 2K.xvi.3, xvii.17, xxi.6, xxiii.10, Jer.vii.31, xix.5, xxxii.35, Ez xvi.20,21, xxiii.37,39, Ps.cvi.37,38, and the ready adoption by the worshippers of YAHVE of the worship of Baal-Peor, N.xxv.1-5.

Chap.xxii.1(L.L.),2-41(O.S.).

108. v.28. *and the Lord opened the mouth of the ass.*] The account of this occurrence can hardly have come from anyone else than Balaam himself, and may, perhaps, have been given by him to the Israelites after his capture in the war against Midian. That which is here recorded was apparently perceived by him alone amongst human witnesses. For, though his two servants were with him, v.22, and the envoys of Balak also, v.35, yet *the marvel does not appear to have attracted their attention.* The cries of the ass would seem then to have been significant to Balaam's mind only. God may have brought it about that sounds uttered by the creature after its kind became to the prophet's intelligence as though it addressed him in rational speech. . . . On the other hand, the opinion that the ass actually uttered with the mouth articulate words of human speech (though still defended by . . . Wordsworth, &c.), or even that the utterance of the ass was so formed in the air as to fall with the accents of man's voice on Balaam's ears, seems irreconcilable with Balaam's behaviour. Balaam was,

indeed, labouring under derangement, induced by his indulgence of avarice and ambition, and this too aggravated at the moment by furious anger. Yet *it seems scarcely conceivable that he could actually have heard human speech from the mouth of his own ass, and even go on, as narrated in v.29,30, to hold a dialogue with her, and show no signs of dismay and astonishment.*

v.31. *and he saw the angel of the Lord.*] The angel was outwardly visible, as in E.xiv.19, and was thus now seen by Balaam, as before by the ass, yet *was visible with such limitation that he was not beheld by any others.* Beyond this we know not the manner or conditions of his appearance. p.736.

Ans. We must leave the difference between this Commentary and Bp. WORDSWORTH to settle itself. For our present purpose it is enough to ask whether Balaam's two servants and the envoys of Balak heard *Balaam's* words, when speaking with the ass, v.29, or with the angel, v.34, or the angel's words, v.32,33,35? Or was the whole of this conversation, as well as the 'cries of the ass' and the appearance of the angel, 'significant to Balaam's mind only'?

The story in N.xxxi, which says that Balaam was 'slain with the sword,' not that he was *captured*, is due to the L.L. (VI.116,179). This being the case, it is difficult to see how the Israelites could have got possession of a copy of the prophecies of Balaam, as delivered to the Moabites, or have been informed of the events preceding their delivery. But the Commentary says:—

It would seem that Balaam did not fall in battle, but was '*judicially executed*,' p.767—

of which fact, however, no trace appears in the story; rather, J.xiii.22 speaks of Balaam as 'slain by the sword among them that were slain by them,' as if he had fallen with the rest on the battle-field.

109. It seems probable that Balaam was from the first a worshipper in some sort of the true God, and had doubtless learned some elements of pure and true religion in his home in the far East, the cradle of the ancestors of Israel. . . . He had, we may be sure, inquired into the past history and present hopes of this remarkable nation. And we find him, accordingly, using language which reflects that of the Jewish records, and implies a knowledge of the promises made to their forefathers. Above all, we find him employing on occasion the Most Holy Name. p.738.

Ans. The above is KEIL's method of accounting for the facts that Balaam not only uses freely the name 'Jehovah,' xxii.8,13,18,19, xxiii.3,8, 12,21,26, xxiv.6,13,13, but is actually made to speak of 'Jehovah my Elohim,' xxii.18, and that not only are there distinct allusions in Balaam's prophecies to passages in Genesis, but N.xxiv.9^a, *comp.* xxiii.24^a, repeats the identical words of G.xlix.9(VI.111)—*comp.* also N.xxiv.9^b with G.xii.3, xxvii.29—N.xxiii.10 with G.xiii.16, xxviii.14—all which, with many other

signs of the Jehovistic style (VI. *App.* 25), must be attributed, of course, to the Jewish writer—as well as the pure Hebrew in which the whole is written, without a trace of *Aramaisms*, such as might be expected to characterize throughout the prophecies of Balaam.

110. When his perversity was at length overborne . . . he became reckless and desperate, and, as if in defiance, counselled the evil stratagem by which he hoped to compass indirectly that ruin of God's people which he had been withheld from working otherwise. p.738.

Ans. The statement that Balaam was slain among the Midianites, N.xxxi.8, J.xiii.22, belongs to the L.L., and the notion of his having 'counselled the evil stratagem' of seducing the Israelites to the worship of Baal-Peor, N.xxv.1-5, is thus built upon a false foundation and is purely imaginary. Accordingly D. makes no allusion whatever to Balaam's having in this way 'compassed indirectly the ruin of God's people,' xxiii.4,5, but adheres to the facts stated in the O.S.

Chap.xxiii(O.S.).

111. v.4. *God met Balaam.*] God—in the original 'Elohim,' though the context *before* and *after* has 'Jehovah': *comp. Introd. to Genesis*, p.24,25. p.740.

Ans. For what purpose the above reference is made I cannot conceive. But, at all events, we have here an illustration of the weakness of Bp. BROWNE's reasoning, which, assuming erroneously that the Elohist and Jehovistic writers of the Pentateuch are distinguished by modern critics chiefly by their habitual use of the name Elohim or Jehovah respectively, would explain the repeated recurrence of one name or the other in any case by saying that—

when in any one chapter or section we find either the word Elohim or the name Jehovah, we are very likely to find the name frequently recurring: . . . its having occurred once would inevitably lead to its continued and frequent occurrence. p.24,25.

Here, for instance, instead of 'Elohim' or 'Jehovah' being used exclusively or recurring in separate groups, we find 'Elohim,' v.4,27, 'El,' v.8,19,22,23, but 'Jehovah,' v.3,5,8,12,16,17,21,26. So in xxii we have 'Jehovah,' v.8, and 16 times altogether, but also 'Elohim' or 'El' 6 times; in xxiv we have 'Jehovah,' v.1,6,11,13,13, but also 'Elohim' or 'El,' v.2,4,8,16,23. See (*Intr. to Gen.* 6.ii).

112. v.10. *who can count the dust of Jacob and the number of the fourth part of Israel?*] i.e. even each one of the four camps, into which the host of Israel was divided, seemed to swarm with innumerable multitudes. Possibly Balaam could only see one camp. p.741.

Ans. How is it that Balaam, if he had before him the whole host, as arranged in N.i,ii,—for Mr. ESPIN says—

In the Plains of Moab, where a long halt was made, the camp might lie 'four-square' or nearly so, p.660—

makes no reference whatever to the *Tabernacle* and the *Ark* in the midst of the Camp? But the Commentary itself corrects the above note, which would imply that the L.L. with its fourfold camp (N.i,ii) was known to the writer of Balaam's prophecies, by another note, as follows:—

v.10. *the fourth part of Israel.*] The word רבֵּעַ is perhaps rather to be rendered 'progeny,' as Rashi, Saad., Sam., Vulg., &c. The A.V. has the support of Onkelos and the Palestine Targum. The sense thus given, though adopted by Keil, Bp. Wordsworth, and other modern commentators, savours somewhat of that proneness to excessive minuteness which marks Jewish exegesis; and the former rendering suits better the poetical character of the passage. p.743.

Chap.xxiv(O.S.).

113. v.4. *falling into a trance.*] The faithful prophets of the Lord do not appear to have been subject to these violent illapses. p.743.

Ans. See Dan.viii.18, x.9,15–17.

114. v.7. *his king shall be higher than Agag.*] The name, apparently hereditary (1S.xv) to the chieftains of Amalek, means 'high' or, as Arabic analogy suggests, 'fiery.' . . . The words point to the Amalekite kingdom as highly prosperous and powerful at the time, *comp.* v.20, but as to be far excelled by the future glories of Israel. The Amalekites never, in fact, recovered their crushing defeat by Saul, 1S.xv.2, &c., though they appear again as foes to Israel in the reign of David, 1S.xxvii,xxx. p.744.

Ans. Now that we know how the Pentateuch has been composed, the mention here of Agag, as a mighty potentate, is a sign of the age when this passage was written, in connexion with 1S.xv, *viz.* about the time when the glory of Amalek had just passed away, and was remembered as a thing of the last generation (VI.508). It was only a small horde that ravaged the south of Judah in David's time, whom David pursued and smote utterly with a small force of 400 men, 1S.xxx.10,17.

115. v.19. There can be no doubt that the victories of David were a partial accomplishment of these predictions. . . . It is, however, no less clear that these victories do not exhaust the import of Balaam's predictions. For he emphatically promises to Israel a complete and permanent conquest of Moab and Edom; and no such conquest was achieved by David or any of his successors. p.746.

Ans. David certainly 'effected for a time a complete subjugation of Moab,' p.746, and Edom, 2S.viii.2,14, and the prophetic writers of his day,

no doubt, believed that it was 'permanent.' We have here another evidence of the age in which Balaam's prophecies were written; whereas the fact that no allusion is made here to the conquest of *Ammon* shows that they were written *previously* to that event, when David was on friendly terms with the Ammonites, as indicated in 2S.x.2—that is, they were composed about B.C. 1040 (VI.509–511).

116. It is further apparent that Edom and Moab are named by Balaam, as they are also by the prophets, not for their own sake merely, but as representatives of the heathen nations who were hostile to the Theocracy . . . and in the threatened ruin of Edom and Moab is indicated the eventual destruction of all that resists the kingdom of God in its power. p.746.

Ans. Why, then, is 'Amalek' also mentioned in v.20, or Asshur in v.24? It is plain that these are all 'named for their own sake.'

117. The 'Star' and 'Sceptre' of the prophecy too, like the 'Sceptre' and 'Lawgiver' of G.xlix.10, point naturally rather to a line of princes than to an individual . . . and that, too, in 'the latter days,' v.14, the ordinary prophetic designation for the time of the Messiah, Dan.x.13. To a Christian the connection between the star and sceptre of Balaam and the star of the King of the Jews, which the wise men saw, is self-evident. As they were 'wise men from the east,' Matt.ii.1, so was Balaam also 'a wise man from the east,' xxiii.7. p.746.

Ans. No doubt, the words here ascribed to Balaam had in view the *line* of David, which (it was hoped) would be perpetuated in its rule over 'all Israel.' The days of David's reign were 'the latter days' referred to in v.14 from the assumed standpoint of Balaam: in the age when these prophecies were written, there was no thought of a Messiah, coming in the end of time to 'restore again the kingdom to Israel.' The connexion between Balaam's Star and the Star in Matt.ii.2 is obvious enough: but it existed only in the fancy of the writer of this later legend of the visit of the three 'wise men from the east' to worship the infant Jesus, or rather in that of those with whom the legend originated.

118. v.21. *the Kenites.*] First mentioned in G.xv.19, as one of the tribes whose territory was promised to Abraham. . . . But it seems unlikely that the Kenites of G.xv.19, who were to be dispossessed by the descendants of Abraham, are identical with those of whom Balaam speaks, and who were, because of good offices rendered at the time of the Exodus, always regarded as kinsmen and friends by Israel, 1S.xv.6, xxvii.10. It is probable, rather, that the Kenites of G.xv.19 were a Canaanitish people who derived their name from the city Kain, which fell eventually within the borders of the tribe of Judah, and that the descendants of Hobab, who appear in Ju.i.16 as making war in this very district, possessed themselves of this city and with it of the name Kenite also. This they would seem to have already done when Balaam uttered his prediction. . . . It may well

be that this roving band of Midianites had already entered Canaan, perhaps along the shores of the Dead Sea, and by routes impracticable for the huge host of Israel.

v.22. *nevertheless the Kenite shall be wasted, &c.*] Render for *Kain shall surely not be destroyed until Asshur, &c.* The words are not, as they appear in the A.V., a prediction of evil to the Kenites, but a promise, on the contrary, of safety to be long continued to them. The assurance of Moses to Hobab, x.32, is in substance endorsed by Balaam . . . and in fact they shared the fortune of God's chosen people until the Captivity. p.748.

Ans. Balaam is here represented as looking around upon the nations neighbouring to Israel, and more or less hostile to it, as Amalek, Moab, Edom, &c. How, then, should he turn suddenly to address the 'roving tribe' of Kenites, already living in Canaan, and 'regarded as kinsmen and friends by Israel'? Probably the Kenites here and in G.xv.19 were a tribe closely connected with Amalek, after which they are here mentioned, as in 1S.xv.6 they are spoken of as living *among* the Amalekites in Saul's time—to which Moses' father-in-law was supposed to belong, though his family had separated from the main body of the tribe and followed the fortunes of Israel, N.x.29-32, Ju.i.16, iv.11. The Kenites had not been subdued by David, but probably they were threatened by the advance of the Assyrian power in that age (VI.512,513).

119. v.22. מַה is ordinarily, and in classical Hebrew, interrogative; and the phrase מַה עֲדִימָה would mean, as in margin, 'how long?' But such a sense, though retained here by some commentators, does not suit the construction; and the particle מַה, on which the question turns, is employed by Balaam, xxiii.2,23, in a non-interrogative sense. In his mouth this use must be regarded as an Aramaism; and an Aramaism is a token of the Hebrew in which it occurs being of a very *early* or a very *late* date. p.749.

Ans. As this, on our view, is a very early passage, the occurrence of this Aramaism (if there be one) may be explained, as above, independently of Balaam's dialect—especially as it is the only instance of the kind detected in these prophecies, which might be expected to be full of them.

120. v.24. *and ships shall come from the coast of Chittim, and shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever.*] It is evident that the prophecy now before us extends its view far beyond the latest day that has ever been assigned for the composition of the Pentateuch, and even for the closing of the volume of the Old Testament. The 'ships of Chittim' were naturally referred, in the days of the Maccabees, to the *Macedonian invasion of Asia*; nor is it easy to see how any event of less magnitude can adequately interpret the broad prediction of affliction to Asshur and Eber. p.748.

Ans. What if the reference may be to the *Western invasion of Asia* celebrated in the 'Iliad,' the echo of which must have resounded through

Phœnicia and Palestine? The date of the Fall of Troy is fixed at B.C. 1127 (*Oxf. Chron. Table of Ancient History*, p.6,7), about 40 years before the birth of David. See (VI.514-6).

121. *v.25. returned to his own place.*] Not to his own land, for he remained amongst the Midianites, to plot by new means against the people of God and to perish in his sin, xxxi.8,16, Rev.ii.14. The phrase, which is of frequent recurrence, *e.g.* G.xviii.33, xxxi.55, 1S.xxvi.25, 2S.xix.39, is idiomatic, meaning merely that Balaam *went away whither he would.* p.748.

Ans. The O.S. knew nothing whatever about Balaam 'remaining amongst the Midianites, to plot and to perish,' which belongs to the L.L. (108), but supposes him to return to his home, as the phrase used undoubtedly implies, as anyone may see who will take the trouble to refer to G.xxxi.55, Ju.vii.7, *comp.* v.8, ix.55, xix.28, *comp.* v.29, 1S.ii.20, vi.2, xiv.46, xxvi.25, 2S.xv.19, xix.39, 2Ch.xxv.10. The explanation above given is a mere perversion of the plain meaning of the Scripture, in support of the traditional view.

Chap.xxv.1-5(O.S.),6-18(L.L.).

122. *v.8. the plague was stayed.*] No plague had as yet been mentioned; but it appears from the next verse, and from God's words in *v.11*, that a Divinely sent pestilence was raging until the wrath of God was appeased by the act of Phinehas. The term 'plague' may, however, be understood to include the slaughter wrought upon the offenders by 'the judges,' *v.5.* *Comp.* for such sense of the Hebrew word 1S.iv.17, 2S.xvii.9.

v.9. twenty-and-four thousand.] St. Paul (1Cor.x.8) says 'three-and-twenty thousand,' following probably the Jewish tradition, which deducted *one thousand* as the number slain by the hands of their brethren. p.750.

Ans. No doubt, in the passages cited the Hebrew word (נִקְּחָם, 'stroke' or 'smiting') is used for 'slaughter.' But does Mr. ESPIN mean to suggest that the judges slew 24,000 (instead of 1,000, as above), and then 'the slaughter' by their hands was stayed miraculously (?), as soon as Phinehas had run his spear through Zimri and Cozbi? It is plain that the word is used here of a pestilence, as in xiv.37, xvi.48,49,50, *comp.* Ps.cvi.28-30, which has been added to the O.S. by the L.L. (VI.112).

123. *v.11.* The act of Phinehas must be regarded as exceptional. It was an extraordinary deed of vengeance, justified by the singular atrocity of the crime which provoked it. The later Jews rightly appreciated its character, though whilst guarding the application of a dangerous precedent by minute conditions, *they lost the spirit of it*, when they founded on it and on the similar act of Samuel, 1S.xv.33, the *jus zelotyparum*, *i.e.* the right accorded to every Jew to

punish summarily any gross and flagrant breach of the Divine Law committed in his presence. *Comp.* the act of Mattathias, 1Macc.ii.24, &c. . . . The stoning of Stephen (Acts vii) has been quoted as an application of the *jus zelotyparum*.

The act of Phinehas was not done under the commission of Moses given in v.5. . . . Nor is there any evidence, unless it be found in the approval of the deed afterwards, that he was bidden by extraordinary command of God to do it. *It was its own justification. Its merit consisted in the evidence it gave that his heart was right before God.* . . . How thoroughly the nation adopted the deed is manifest by the conspicuous position from henceforth assigned to Phinehas, xxxi.6, J.xxii.13, &c., and by the fame which attached to him and it ever afterwards. p.751.

Ans. This dangerous doctrine would justify assassination in any age on religious, or moral, or even political grounds—*e.g.* of Henri IV. by Ravallac, or of William of Orange. But the passage before us belongs to the L.L., and doubtless reflects the feeling of the ‘later Jews,’ and xxxi.6, J.xxii.13, &c., are also due to the L.L. (VI.116,186).

124. v.13. *and he shall have it, and his seed after him, even the covenant of an everlasting priesthood.]* It is not the high-priesthood that is here exclusively intended: to this Phinehas had not as yet succeeded, for his father Eleazar was still alive. Yet after he had become high priest the office, with a short interruption from the days of Eli to those of David, when for unknown reasons it was filled by descendants of his uncle Ithamar, was perpetuated in the line of Phinehas; nor indeed is it known to have departed from that line again until the typical priesthood of the sons of Aaron was merged in the actual priesthood of the Saviour of mankind. p.751.

Ans. The ‘typical priesthood of the sons of Aaron,’ as well as the distinction of the ‘priests’ and the ‘Levites,’ belongs to the L.L., being a fiction of the later Jews after the return from the Captivity (VI.451-6). It must certainly be no easy matter to account for ‘the short interruption from the days of Eli to those of David’—more than a century and a half (!), *comp.* IS.iv.18, 1K.ii.3—of the descent of the high-priesthood in the line of Phinehas, in direct contradiction to this word of Jehovah. But the notion that Eli, the ancestor of Abimelech, was a descendant of Ithamar and Zadok of Eleazar or Phinehas, is entirely due to the Chronicler, 1Ch.xxiv. 2-6. What sign is there that either Jehoiada, the chief priest in the time of Joash, 2K.xi.4, &c., or Urijah, in that of Ahaz, 2K.xvi.10, &c., was a descendant of Phinehas?

125. v.17. *vex the Midianites.]* As the Israelites are to ‘vex the Midianites’ alone, it may be inferred that, though the licentious rites of the Moabites had furnished the occasion, yet it was the Midianites in particular that had been the active agents in corrupting the people. p.752.

Ans. It is the L.L. which introduces the Midianites here and in xxxi:

the O.S. speaks only of the 'daughters of Moab,' xxv.1, and D. refers only to the Moabites in connexion with Balaam, D.xxiii.3-5, saying nothing about the war on Midian, or the hostility between the Israelites and Midianites, and not even naming the latter anywhere.

Chap.xxvi(L.L.).

126. v.5. Seven of the tribes, of which are the three belonging to the camp of Judah, show an increase of numbers; and five, among whom are the three belonging to the camp of Reuben, show a decrease. p.752.

Ans. To show further the artificial character of these numbers, six tribes exceed 50,000 at *each* numbering, and six fall short of 50,000, but so that the total number shall be nearly the same on both occasions. Moreover, all of them here make up *round hundreds*, except that Reuben has an odd *thirty*, showing that they were not reckoned by *fifties*, as might have been suggested from the numbers at the previous census (N.i,ii) being also all round hundreds, except that Gad has an odd 50.

127. v.5. The most remarkable decrease is in Simeon, which now shows less than half its former strength. To this tribe Zimri, the chief offender in the recent transgression, belonged, xxv.14. Probably his tribesmen generally had followed his example, and had accordingly suffered most severely in the plague. In the parting Blessing of Moses, uttered at no great interval from this date, the tribe of Simeon alone is omitted. p.752.

The earlier list (G.xlvi) enumerates Ohad among the sons of Simeon. As this name does not appear either here or in Chronicles, it is probable that his family had become extinct. They may have been carried off in the recent plague: possibly they were 'the chief house among the Simeonites,' of which Zimri had been prince. p.753.

Ans. The loss by the 'plague' will hardly account for the diminution in the number of Simeon. If *all* the 24,000 who died by the plague, xxv.9, had been Simeonites, this tribe, numbering now 37,100 less than before, would have lost 13,100 by other causes, while no other tribe had lost more than 8,000.

The 'parting Blessing of Moses' in D.xxxiii was written in the age of the Deuteronomist (VI.135), and therefore *before* this chapter, which belongs to the L.L. In that Blessing Simeon is omitted, because the tribe had been long extinct, portions of it having migrated and the rest probably absorbed in Judah (VI.ch.xiii, note ¹¹⁹). Possibly, the L.L., by reducing its numbers from 59,300 to 22,200, may have desired to indicate that the tribe was tending towards extinction. But it has very inconsistently represented the faithful Levites, who were not doomed in N.xiv nor involved in

the guilt of N.xxv, as only increased by 1,000 *of all ages*, 'from a month old and upwards,' during the 38 years, v.62, comp.iii.39.

128. Each tribe is, in the ensuing catalogue, represented as subdivided into certain chief families. . . . The ancestral heads after whom these families are named correspond nearly with the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Jacob, enumerated in G.xlvi. Both lists consist mainly of grandchildren of Jacob, both contain also the same two grandchildren of Judah, and the same two grandchildren of Asher. *It appears then that the document in Genesis must be regarded as a list, not of those who went down in their own persons with Jacob into Egypt, but of those whose names were transmitted to their posterity of the date of the Exodus as the heads of Israelitish houses, and who may thus be reckoned the early ancestors of the people.* p.753.

Ans. There is not the least shadow of real ground for the above (italicised) assumption, which is merely invented in order to save the credit of the Pentateuchal story, and directly contradicts the plain statements of the Scripture elsewhere. The list in G.xlvi distinctly professes to give the names of all the males who actually went down with Jacob into Egypt, v.6-8,26; and accordingly it includes Jacob, his eleven sons and one daughter, his fifty grandchildren and four great-grandchildren, making, together with Joseph and his two sons already in Egypt, '70 souls,' v.27, E.i.5, D.x.22, Acts vii.14. Does Mr.ESPIN mean to say that Jacob and his sons are reckoned in G.xlvi as 'heads of Israelitish houses' *as well as his grandsons*—e.g. the 'house of Jacob' as well as the 'house of Reuben,' or the 'house of Joseph' as well as the 'house of Ephraim' and the 'house of Manasseh'? And why is *Dinah* named in v.15, or *Serah* in v.17, who were not 'heads of houses' at all, comp. N.xxvi.46?

The L.L. has apparently based its account in N.xxvi on this earlier list, the names of the families (except those of Manasseh and Ephraim, v.28-37, which are not given at all in G.xlvi), being drawn from it, with some slight variations (perhaps through mistakes of copyists), e.g. Nemuel, Zerah, Zephon, Ozri, Arod, Jashub, Shupham, Hupham, Shuham, Sarah, v.12,13,15, 16,17,24,39,42,46, for Jemuel, Zohar, Ziphion, Ezbon, Arodi, Job, Muphim, Huphim, Hushim, Serah, G.xlvi.10,16,13,21,23,17, while Ohad, Ishui, Becher, Gera, Rosh, G.xlvi.10,17,21, are omitted in N.xxvi, Ard and Naaman, sons of Benjamin, G.xlvi.21, are reckoned as grandsons, N.xxvi.40, and their father's family is given, 'the Belaites,' v.38, as well as their own, as is the case also with Pharez and his sons, v.20,21, and Shuthelah and his sons, v.35,36.

129. It is not necessary to regard each house as consisting of actual lineal descendants only, or yet as comprising always all the descendants of the ancestor whose name it bears. In some cases, probably, families attached themselves to

more powerful households to which they were akin, and became merged in them, and so lost all separate name and place. It is likely, *e.g.*, that *Dan had many children and many branches of descendants*, notwithstanding that they were all comprised, by estimation, in the family of the one son known to us. *p.753.*

Ans. Here again is an assumption (italicised) made without the slightest foundation, in the very teeth of the Scripture statements in G.xlvi.23, N.xxvi.42, for the purpose of meeting the very obvious objection that *one* son of Dan can hardly have had 62,700 adult male descendants in the fourth generation, N.i.38, and, of course, about as many females (I.125).

130. In other cases, where new families sprang up and took their name from leaders of a younger generation, the family named after the older ancestor would consist only of such remnant of his descendants as had not become incorporated in the younger families, *e.g.* in the tribe of Ephraim the Shuthalhites appear to have absorbed the Eranites, although the latter were actually descended, through Eran, from Shuthelah. *p.753.*

Ans. The above is probably said to account for the fact that the 'Eranites,' mentioned in N.xxvi.36, are not named in 1.Ch.vii.20,21, where the 'Shuthalites' are named. But this will not account for *Jacob* being reckoned in G.xlvi.8, as well as his sons, or *Joseph*, as well as his sons, in v.27(128).

131. v.29. *Gilead.*] Amidst some confusion, occasioned by the manner in which the records were copied, the genealogy of 1Ch.vii.14, &c., reveals to us the fact that either the mother or grandmother of Gilead was an Aramite. For this reason, doubtless, he was named after the territory whereon Laban the Aramite and Jacob the inheritor of the promises had finally parted, G.xxxi.25,47. These associations probably suggested the special allotment in the district of Gilead to the Machirites, xxxii.40, as being the district from which their ancestress had sprung, and which had given its name to the head of their families. *p.754.*

Ans. The account in G.xxxi.25,47, of the origin of the name Gilead is, no doubt, fictitious. The genealogy in 1Ch.vii.14, &c., if it could be relied on, would indicate, when considered historically, that the inhabitants of Gilead—whatever may be the origin of the name—were of mixed descent, partly Israelite, partly Aramæan.

132. v.58. Of the other families named in N.iii the Shimites would seem to be now extinct or to have been incorporated with the Libnites, and the *Uzzielites*, if they still survived, in like manner with another of the Kohathite families. The Izharites of iii.27 were probably now all known as Korahites, Korah being the son of Izhar. *p.756.*

It seems most likely that several words have fallen out of the text in this place. On comparing the Levite families here named with iii.18-20, E.vi.17, &c., those of Shimei and Uzziel are omitted, and the latter family at any rate was neither extinct nor obscure, *comp.* E.vi.22, L.x.4. *p.757.*

Ans. There is no ground whatever for supposing that 'several words have

fallen out of the text in this place,' because these genealogical statements of the L.L., inserted probaby by different hands at different times, are not in thorough accord with each other. Certainly, the family of Uzziel is represented by the Chronicler as 'neither extinct nor obscure' in David's time, 1Ch.xv.10, though even here the fictitious character of his statements is indicated by the fact that, after reckoning 120 *Kohathites*, 220 Merarites, 130 Gershonites, v.5-7, he goes on to add 200 'sons of *Elzaphan*,' 80 'sons of *Helson*,' 112 'sous of *Uzziel*,' of whom 'Hebron' and 'Uzziel' were sons of *Kohath*, E.vi.18, and 'Elzaphan' was a son of 'Uzziel,' v.22, and their sons would therefore all be 'Kohathites.'

133. v.59. The mode of filling up the ellipse adopted by the A.V., though supported by most authorities ancient and modern, is merely conjectural. It is, too, quite without parallel. It seems most likely that several words have fallen out of the text in this place (132). . . . Moreover, Jochebed, the mother of Moses, could not be strictly the daughter of Levi; for three centuries must have intervened between the death of Levi and the birth of Moses. Amram and Jochebed were the descendants of Levi, probably seven or eight generations removed. . . . In the face of the strong probability that the text is very imperfect, and in the absence of means for restoring it, conjectures as to what the proper sense may be are wholly useless. p.757.

Ans. The above is an ingenious mode of evading the difficulty in question. But there is no reason for supposing that 'the text is imperfect,' and the meaning of the passage is perfectly plain, the verb being used *impersonally*, as in a multitude of other instances, 'whom one (*fem.*) bare to Levi in Egypt' = who was born to Levi, &c. There can be no doubt whatever that the L.L. does mean to represent Amram as taking to wife 'Jochebed, his father's sister,' E.vi.20, *i.e.* Kohath's sister, v.18, or Levi's daughter, v.16; though, no doubt, this fact burdens the story with some serious improbabilities, and Canon Cook has therefore done his best to evade it (*Ex.* 27).

134. v.62. The total number of male Levites, 23,000, shows an increase of 1,000 on the number at Sinai, iii.39. It is doubtless to be *taken as a round number*, and, as before, includes the male children from a month old and upwards, as well as the male adults. p.756.

Ans. It does not appear why the number of Levites, 22,000, iii.39, or 23,000, xxvi.62, should be 'taken as a round number,' any more than the 45,650 of Gad in i.25 or the 43,730 of Reuben in xxvi.7. In fact, it is plain from comparing iii.39,43,46, that the 22,000 is *not* to be so taken: why, then, the 23,000 here?

But the fictitious character of the whole account appears not only from these artificial numbers, but from the fact that the Levites, who were not placed under the ban in xiv, nor shared in the (supposed) sin of the

Simeonites in xxv, had in 38 years only increased by 1,000 on 22,000 'from a month old and upward,' whereas at the ordinary rate they should have increased by nearly 1,000 each year (VI.461).

Chap.xxvii(L.L.).

135. v.21. *and he shall stand before Eleazar the priest.*] Joshua was thus to be inferior to what Moses had been. For Moses had enjoyed the privilege of unrestricted direct intercourse with God: *the other, like all future rulers of Israel, was to ask counsel mediately through the high-priest*, and those means of enquiring of God wherewith the high-priest was entrusted. Such counsel Joshua seems to have omitted to seek when he concluded his hasty treaty with the Gibeonites, ix.3, &c. p.759.

Ans. The priestly L.L. takes care to subordinate Joshua and 'all future rulers of Israel' to the high-priest. J.ix.3, &c., belongs to the O.S., and, of course, knows nothing about such subordination.

Chap.xxviii(L.L.).

136. The daily offering had been already commanded, E.xxix.38, and, no doubt, additional offerings had become customary on festivals. But no such elaborate system as is here prescribed was or could possibly have been observed in the wilderness, *comp.* D.xii.8,9. The regulations of this and the next chapter therefore point to the immediate prospect of that settlement in Canaan, which alone could enable the Israelites to obey them. p.759.

Ans. It does not appear why 'no such elaborate system as is here prescribed could possibly have been observed in the wilderness,' more especially when we have before us the 'elaborate' directions in L.i-vii, expressly meant to be carried out in the wilderness, *comp.* vii.38. The bullocks, rams, and kids required are supposed to have been with them all along, and so too the flour, oil, and wine for the meat-offering, E.xxix.40, L.ii. Where then was the difficulty in question, sufficient to explain the fact that these commands are only now first given, in the 40th year of the wanderings, for the offerings on the Sabbath and on the New Moon?—

the observance of which had been enjoined at Sinai, when the directions were given for making the silver trumpets, x.10. p.760.

Or what reason is there for saying—

This meat-offering connected itself, from its very nature, with the life of the Israelites in Canaan, not with their life in the wilderness, p.759—

when we find such 'meat-offerings' actually offered 'in the wilderness,' E.xi.29, L.vi.20-23, ix.4,17, x.12, xiv.10,20,21,31, *comp.* v.3,8, 'the camp,' N.vii.13,19, &c., and called, as here, *korban*, L.ii.1,4, &c., vi.20?

Of course, however, the L.L. intended all its laws to be really practised—not in the wilderness, but—in Canaan.

137. v.7. It is peculiar to the present passage that the liquor of the drink-offering is described as ‘strong wine,’ Heb. *shechar*, a term usually employed to describe strong drink other than wine. The Targum here understands it of *old wine*. But the explanation probably is that the Israelites in the wilderness had, in their lack of wine, substituted *shechar* made from barley for it. Of barley they had doubtless been able to grow sufficient for their needs. They had thus observed the spirit, though not the letter, of the ordinance, and *their practice hitherto would naturally betray itself in the language now employed by Moses*. p.760.

Ans. These are not the words of *Moses*, but the command of *Jehovah*, v.1, and we have just been told (136) that they

point to the immediate prospect of that settlement in Canaan which alone could enable the Israelites to obey them.

Are we to suppose that beer or ‘barley-drink,’ instead of wine, is here expressly ordered—by mistake or inadvertence—in regulations which were intended only to be carried out in Canaan?

138. v.7. There are but few injunctions in the Pentateuch respecting drink-offerings. They are named in Leviticus only in ch.xxiii, and *seem generally to be assumed rather than specified*. p.760.

v.15. There was added a goat as a sin-offering; and this, though mentioned last, would seem in fact to have been offered first, since in all actually-recorded cases the sin-offering invariably preceded the burnt-offering, E.xxix. L.v,viii,ix, xiv,xvi.

v.16–25. The details of the [Passover] offering had not been previously described; but the command for an holy convocation on the first and last days of the festival appears in L.xxiii.7,8. p.761.

Ans. The facts here noticed, that drink-offerings are throughout ‘assumed rather than specified,’ that no direction is anywhere given for the order in which the sin-offering was to be offered, and that the offering on the seven days of the Feast of Mazzoth had not yet been enjoined, whereas the ‘holy convocation on the first and last days’ had been ordered 38 years previously, are all indications that these laws do but reflect the actual practice after the Captivity, and assume the points in question as well known.

139. v.26–31. The festival-offering at the season of firstfruits . . . nearly, though not entirely, accords with the sacrificial offering prescribed in L.xxiii.18 &c. . . . There and here the sin-offering is the same, and the seven lambs of the burnt-offering also. But instead of the *two* bullocks and *one* ram of Numbers, *two* rams and *one* bullock, with the further addition of two lambs for a peace-offering, are specified in Leviticus. The discrepancy in the number of bullocks

and rams is due, perhaps, to a corruption of the text. . . . It is unlikely that two extensive sets of sacrifices, nearly identical in their details, should have been offered on the same day, and yet that the command enjoining each should make no reference to the other. The distinction between the two is indeed recognised by Josephus, *Ant.* III.x.6, who, however, in computing the aggregate of the animals specified in the two passages, errs as to the number of rams. But his statement probably represents only his own opinion; and even the practice of the Jews after the Captivity would not be decisive as to the true meaning of the Mosaic Law. *p.*761.

Ans. Again the 'adjusting' hand was needed to remove the discrepancy between the above explanation, which gets rid of the difficulty in question by the summary process of altering the text, and that of Mr. CLARK who says:—

It would indeed seem that the sacrifices prescribed in N.xxviii,xxix, were offered as additions to the continual Burnt-offering, while all those mentioned in this chapter (L.xxiii.18,19) accompanied the rites peculiar to each festival, and formed more strictly essential parts of them. *p.*621.

In other words Mr. CLARK asserts that—

It is *not* unlikely that two extensive sets of sacrifices, nearly identical in their details, should have been offered on the same day, and yet the command enjoining each should make no reference to the other—

in direct opposition to the view of his brother commentator.

On our view, of course, the difference in these later ordinances implies only either some inaccuracy on the part of the writer, or some uncertainty in respect of the prescriptions themselves.

Chap.xxix,xxx(L.L.).

Chap.xxxi(L.L.).

140. *v.*2. *the Midianites.*] The Moabites are not included. It would thus seem that it was the Midianites, and they only, who deliberately set themselves to work the corruption of Israel. *p.*766.

Ans. The L.L. introduces the Midianites, both here and in xxv.6-18; the O.S. in xxv.1-5 speaks only of the 'daughters of Moab.'

141. *v.*3. The Midianites had corrupted, and, as far as in them lay, ruined God's people, body and soul, and had done this knowing, as after the overruling by God of Balaam's attempts to curse Israel they must have known, that in doing it they were openly rebelling against God. From God, then, a no less open retribution overtakes them.

The employment in this work of so small a number of Israelites as 12,000 (*v.*4) against the whole numerous nation of Midian, the selection of an equal number

from each tribe irrespective of its warlike strength, the appointment of Phinehas, famous for his zeal against the very sin to which the Midianites had tempted Israel, to take the lead in the war with 'the holy instruments and trumpets,' *v.6*, and the extraordinary preservation of all those engaged, *v.49*, are tokens that on this occasion, no less than when the cities of the plain were destroyed by fire from heaven, the hand of God directed the stroke.

Doubtless there were many amongst the Midianites who were personally guiltless as regards Israel. But the rulers deliberately adopted the counsel of Balaam against Israel, and their behests had been but too readily obeyed by their subjects. The sin therefore was national, and the retribution could be no less so. And such a judgment must necessarily fall on the whole people indiscriminately. It is also in this particular case obvious that to spare the male children would have prepared for Israel in a few years a nation of implacable foes.

No doubt, a general license to slay at pleasure could hardly have been given without demoralising those employed. But the commission of the Israelites in the text must not be so conceived. They had no discretion to kill or to spare. They were bidden to exterminate without mercy, and brought back to their task when they showed signs of flinching from it. *v.14*.

Ans. Happily the knowledge that this chapter belongs to the L.L., and is a pure fiction, relieves us from all necessity of inventing a mass of special pleading like the above to justify this atrocious story, transcending infinitely in horror that of the well at Cawnpore, as an act of Divine 'retribution.' If there were 32,000 girls who 'had not known man'—(say) under fifteen years—there would have been (say) 40,000 under twenty years, and therefore 80,000 (*VI.447*, note) over twenty years, and consequently 80,000 males over twenty, besides 8,000 youths over fifteen, and 32,000 male children under that age. And we are to believe that 'the hand of God directed the stroke,' which involved the slaughter of these 88,000 men and youths, and the subsequent butchery in cool blood of 88,000 women and elder girls, and 32,000 lads and boys, while 32,000 young girls were carried off captive, *v.35*, of whom 72 were 'Jehovah's tribute,' and, as such, were specially reserved for the priests, *v.41*!—after all which, it seems, they were carefully to 'purify' themselves, their raiment, and their captives, *v.19,20*, whose captivity, according to Mr.ESPIN—

rendered them to some extent a constituent part of the Israelitish people. *p.768*.

And we are further to believe that 12,000 Israelites slew these 208,000 people without the loss of a single man, which Mr.ESPIN explains by saying—

There is no mention of any resistance on the part of the Midianites: probably they were routed by a sudden attack, *p.769*—

and then drove off before them 675,000 sheep, 72,000 cattle, 61,000 asses,

and 32,000 female slaves, on the average 70 head of live stock, animal and human, for each man! Or, if we do not believe all this, we are to be branded as 'sceptics' and 'infidels.'

142. v.22. *brass.*] Render *copper*. The verse is curious as illustrating the variety of metals in use at this early date for domestic purposes. All these metals were common in Egypt centuries before the date of the Exodus. p.768.

Ans. As this passage belongs to the L.L., we can only infer from it that 'gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, lead,' were in use among the Israelites after the Captivity.

143. v.32. The numbers of sheep, beeves, asses, and persons taken are given in this and the following verses in *round thousands*. Hence the Lord's tribute, v.29,37,38, &c., being the five hundredth part of the half, *comes out also in round numbers*. Probably indeed this tribute, set apart at the time, formed the basis of the subsequent record; and upon it the warriors' share, and the general totals, were calculated by multiplication. p.769.

Ans. These 'round numbers' show the fictitious character of the whole narrative, just as they do that of the numberings in N.i,ii,xxvi.

Chap.xxxii.1,16-24,33-42(O.S.),2-15,25-32(L.L.).

144. Ch.xxxii presents some similar characteristics to xiii,xiv: v.31,32 in it repeat v.25-27, and v.9-15 may be compared with xiv.6-10 and v.30. But the alleged traces of interpolation here are not demonstrative. p.653.

Ans. It will be observed that v.9-15 is assigned above to L.L., as are also xiv.6-10,30. The 'traces' of composite authorship are plain enough, and are given in (VI.117, &c.).

145. v.19. *on yonder side Jordan or forward . . . on this side Jordan eastward.*] The expressions in the Hebrew differ but slightly (*me-eber lay-yarden, me-eber hay-yarden*). And in v.32 the latter is actually used of the district *west* of Jordan, though here applied to that *east* of it. The terms are therefore used with some laxity, and are here accordingly defined by the addition of 'forward' and 'eastward' respectively. p.771.

Ans. The above statement is inaccurate as it stands: it should be 'in v. 32 the *former* (*lay-yarden*) is used of the district *east* of the Jordan, though here applied to that *west* of it.'

The phrase means simply, 'across the Jordan': in one case the speaker is made to use it properly with reference to the land of Canaan, as 'across the Jordan' from his supposed position in the land of Moab; in the other he is made to use it incorrectly, with reference to the land of Gilead, &c., as 'across the Jordan' from the *writer's* point of view, this being the standing

description of the trans-Jordanic district in historical times, Ju.v.17, vii.25, x.8, 1S.xxxi.7.

146. v.33. *half the tribe of Manasseh.*] This half-tribe . . . is here mentioned for the first time. It would seem that Moses, when assigning to the pastoral tribes the inheritance which they desired, took opportunity at the same time to appropriate to these Manassites specially the district they had already subdued. p.772.

Ans. I have suggested, for reasons given in (VI.117-123), that v.33 followed originally v.1, and was followed by v.16-24 in the O.S., where the tribes make a *voluntary offer* to cross the Jordan and assist their brethren, as apparently implied in D.xxxiii.21, their lands being actually *given* to them by Moses, v.33, D.iii.12-20, J.i.13-15, xiii.8, instead of being only *promised* to them conditionally, and the whole matter left in the hands of Eleazar and Joshua, &c., as in v.28,29, with the direction, v.30—‘But if they will not pass-over with you armed, they shall have possessions among you in the land of Canaan.’ And note the strangeness of this threat—‘If they would not go-over to fight, but would stay on the eastern side of Jordan, they should be *forced* to leave (to whom?) the pastures so well suited for their cattle, and should have land found for them (to the crowding of the other tribes?) in Canaan, though they had taken no part in the conquest’!

147. v.34. *Dibon*] is reckoned as a Reubenite town, J.xiii.9, whilst in Is.xv.2. and Jer.xlviii.18,22, it is spoken of as Moabite. Occupied on the first acquisition of the territory by the Gadites, and assigned by Joshua to the Reubenites, it was eventually recaptured by the Moabites, in whose hands it remained. p.772.

v.36. The Jaazer and Jordan settlements were eventually confirmed to the Gadites as part of their inheritance. . . . But *their Dibon settlement*, which was cut off from the others, must have passed into the possession of Reuben, J.xiii.16,17. p.772.

v.37. Thus all these Reubenite cities clustered round Heshbon. . . . They probably at the partition retained all these cities with the exception of Heshbon itself, which, passing to the Levites, was thenceforth reckoned as within the tribe of Gad. p.773.

Ans. The variations above noticed probably only indicate the uncertainty which existed in the age of David, when (as we suppose) the O.S. was written, as to the boundaries of the trans-Jordanic tribes, which are only fully given in the case of the well-known tribes of Judah and Benjamin (VI.528). As Mr.ESPIN observes—

The western Israelites had but an imperfect knowledge of this district. p.774,

148. v.36. *Beth-haran*] lay within the ground covered by the Israelitish camp,

and therefore can hardly have been occupied by the Gadites till the host crossed the Jordan. *p.772.*

Ans. How can this be explained if Beth-haran was one of the places where they 'built fenced cities and folds for sheep,' *v.36*, as they proposed and were ordered to do before crossing the Jordan, *v.16,24*? As Mr.ESPIN says—

It is obvious that neither the Reubenites nor the Gadites were the founders of the cities of which they thus took possession, and which the text describes them as 'building.' They probably fortified them, for the first time or afresh, so as to render them places of safety for their families during the campaigns on the other side of the Jordan, and provided them with all conveniences for their flocks and herds. *p.773.*

The statement above italicised, if correct, only tends to show the unhistorical character of the whole narrative.

149. *v.41. Jair.*] His own exploits—he was the conqueror of Argob, *D.iii.14*—gave new lustre to his name. And the fame of the family is attested by the history of Jair the Israelitish judge, doubtless a descendant. . . .

The original 'Havoth-Jair' were 23 in number, *1Ch.ii.22*; in the days of the younger Jair, to whom they probably descended by inheritance, they either had increased to 30 or were reckoned at that round number, *Ju.x.4*. The western Israelites had, however, but an imperfect knowledge of this district, which was, moreover, crowded with towns. . . . Hence the appellation Havoth-Jair was sometimes extended to more distant portions of the Machirite domain—to Argob with its 60 fortified cities, the very reverse, in their structure, of Havoth, and to Kenath, of which (*v.42*) not Jair, but Nobah, was the conqueror, *D.iii.14, J.xiii.30, 1Ch.ii.23. p.774.*

Ans. Whatever 'inaccuracy as to this remote district' may have existed, as we also suppose (147), among the 'western Israelites' of later days, yet how can this be ascribed to *Moses*, *D.iii.14*, or *Joshua*, *J.xiii.30*? The Chronicler's statements cannot be relied on, and indeed his account of Jair is manifestly fictitious. Thus he makes Jair 'take Geshur,' *v.23*, contrary to the statement in *J.xiii.2, comp. v.13*, and so says Mr.ESPIN—

Though Jair, the son of Manasseh, took Geshur, *1Ch.ii.23*, yet the Geshurites were not *expelled*, but dwelt among the Israelites, *p.814*;—

but *J.xiii.2* says that they were still *unsubdued*. And he makes him the grandson of Hezron, *1Ch.ii.21,22*, who went down to Egypt with Jacob, *G.xlvi.12*; whereas even Moses and Aaron were only great-grandchildren of Levi, *E.vi.20, N.xxvi.59*, and these had now reached a very great age, while Jair must still have been a warrior, if he 'took the country of Argob,' *D.iii.14*, and therefore must have been under twenty at the Exodus, *N.xxvi.64,65*, when Moses was 80 and Aaron 83 years old, *E.vii.7*.

There can be little doubt that the 'Havoth-Jair' in N.xxxii.41 are identical with those in Ju.x.4, D.iii.14, 1K.iv.13, and that the only really historical character is the 'Judge' Jair of Ju.x.3, upon whose exploits or those of his sons, dimly seen through the haze of tradition, the notices in the Pentateuch are based. So Mr. ESPIN says of Nobah, who 'went and took Kenath and its villages, and called it Nobah after his own name,' v.42—

Scripture mentions him no more; but he is the hero of various extravagant legends in the Samaritan book of Joshua. p.774.

Chap.xxxiii(L.L.).

150. v.1. This list was written out by Moses at God's command, v.2, doubtless as a memorial of God's providential care for his people throughout this long and trying period. p.775.

Ans. This list is due to the L.L. (VI.App.34), and contains a series of Stations, enumerated perhaps by some one who had actually made acquaintance with the wilderness. But it is also possible that some, at all events, of those in v.19-36, viz. the Stations during the 38 years' penal wandering, whose names are all Hebrew, may be fictitious. Thus, as we are told, p.776, *Rithmah* seems to be derived from the 'broom-plant,' *Rimmon-Parez* from the 'pomegranate,' *Libnah* from the 'white poplar,' *Kehelathah* and *Makhe-loth* from 'assembly' or 'congregation.'

The name was evidently given to the Station by the Israelites themselves [or, on our view, by the writer], and is not likely to have been locally preserved.

So *Mithcah* from 'sweetness,' comp. *Marah*, 'bitterness'—probably points to the excellency of the water at this Station.

151. v.18. *Rithmah*.] The name of this Station is derived from *retem*, the broom-plant, the 'juniper' of the A.V. This must be the same encampment as that which is said to have been at Kadesh, xiii.26. p.776.

Ans. The phrase 'to Kadesh' in xiii.26 is interpolated (VI.94), and may have been originally only a marginal note by some writer of the L.L., not necessarily the writer of this chapter. Possibly 'Rithmah' may here be used as another name for 'Kadesh' of xiii.26, i.e. 'Kadesh-Barnea,' to distinguish it from 'Kadesh (Petra)' in the land of Edom, xx.1=xxxiii.36. But this does not seem very probable.

152. From v.19 to v.36 the Stations named are those visited during the years of penal wandering. The determination of their positions is difficult, because during this period there was no definite line of march pursued. Some identifications are rendered probable by modern research, which may hereafter suggest others.

All indications thus far seem to show that the Israelites during this period did not overstep the boundaries of the wilderness of Paran, except to pass along the adjoining valley of the Arabah. Over the ridges of Paran, then, *it is probable that for many years the people spread, while the tabernacle and organised camp moved about from place to place amongst them.* p.776.

Ans. The notion expressed in the words above italicised is a mere conjecture, made for the purpose of avoiding certain difficulties, but for which there is not a shadow of support in the Pentateuchal story. And it is directly opposed to Mr. ESPIN's own argument elsewhere.

During the lifetime of Moses . . . the nation had thus far lived in encampment together, and so within a small compass. p.858.

153. v.31. *Bene-jaakan*] i.e. 'the children of Jaakan'; in D.x 6 'Beeroth (*i.e.* the wells) of the children of Jaakan.' It is there stated that 'the children of Israel took their journey from Beeroth of the children of Jaakan to Mosera'; whilst here Mosera, or Moseroth, is placed first. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that the Israelites during their long wanderings visited these places twice, though Moses *in this succinct list of Stations names each of them only once.* The order here given (Moseroth, Bene-Jaakan) is perhaps that followed in the first march towards Canaan; whilst the reverse order of D.x.6 (Bene-Jaakan, Mosera) may have been adopted in the 40th year when the march was differently directed. The verse in Deuteronomy is, however, evidently a fragment, and probably a gloss, and its authority consequently uncertain. p.777.

Ans. It is obvious enough that the words in question in D.x.6 are 'a fragment,' but, when we look at the context, it seems simply absurd to call them a 'gloss.' In (VI.138, &c.) I have given reasons for believing that D.x.6^{ab}, 7, may be a fragment of the O.S., a portion of the original *itinerary* of the march of the Israelites, belonging properly to N.xxi.10-20—with its account of the death of Aaron, 'there Aaron died, and there he was buried,' viz. at Mosera, just exactly as we have in N.xx.1, 'there Miriam died, and there she was buried,' viz. at Kadesh—a fragment, therefore, which the L.L. must have struck out, when it introduced its own account of the death of Aaron on Mount Hor, xx.23-29, with the corresponding notices in xxxiii.38,39, D.xxxii.50. But D.x.6^c, 'and Eleazar his son acted-as-priest in his stead,' is also due to the L.L., which alone knows anything about Eleazar, or indeed about Aaron 'acting-as-priest'; and therefore we may conjecture that the L.L. inserted these words, at the time when the rest of this fragment still remained in its original position in N.xxi, before it was determined to give greater prominence to the death of Aaron, and the succession to the high-priesthood, as in xx.23-29, &c. Though meant, however, to be cancelled, it has been inserted by some accident after D.x.5, where it is obviously quite out of place.

154. *v.*38,39. The notice that Aaron was 123 years old at his death in the 40th year of the Exodus accords with the notice of *E.vii.7*, that he was 83 years old when he stood before Pharaoh. *p.*778.

Ans. *E.vii.7* belongs to the L.L., as well as the passage before us, and their notices as to Aaron's age very naturally accord with each other.

Chap.*xxxiv,xxxv,xxxvi*(L.L.).

THE
NEW BIBLE COMMENTARY
CRITICALLY EXAMINED.

LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

THE
NEW BIBLE COMMENTARY

BY BISHOPS AND OTHER CLERGY

OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

CRITICALLY EXAMINED

BY THE RIGHT REV.

JOHN WILLIAM COLENSO, D.D.

BISHOP OF NATAL.

'We can do nothing against the Truth, but for the Truth.'—*St. Paul*, 2 Cor. xiii. 8.

'Not to exceed, and not to fall short of, facts,—not to add, and not to take away,—to state the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,—are the grand, the vital, maxims of Inductive Science, of English Law, and, let us add, of Christian Faith.'—*Quarterly Review*, on 'Essays and Reviews,' Oct. 1861, p. 369.

PART V.

INTRODUCTION TO DEUTERONOMY.
THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY.

LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
1873.

PREFACE.

THE Rev. T. E. ESPIN, B.D., is the Commentator on the Book of Deuteronomy. And I feel bound, in the first place, to recognise the fair and courteous manner in which he has dealt with his opponents throughout, except in one or two instances. Thus, he has once reproached them, in language which might be retorted with some force upon himself, where he speaks of a theory of some eminent 'rationalist critics' (with which I do not myself concur), with respect to the origin of the 'Song of Moses,' D.xxxiii, as—

a supposition such as no one would maintain, unless he had adopted it on grounds other than those found in the Song itself, and *had to defend it to the utmost at all hazards.* p.919.

So he uses an unfair weapon when he seeks to fasten on them the invidious charge of maintaining the '*spuriousness* of Deuteronomy,' p.799. And, in like manner, he has twice allowed himself to take up the cry of Bp.BROWNE, 'forger,' p.796, 'forgery,' p.800, as if, supposing the Book to have been written in a later age, according to the conclusions of Modern Criticism, there would be the slightest ground for attaching such a reproach to its author. In point of fact, as Mr.ESPIN very justly says, p.792, Deuteronomy is only a kind of 'commentary on the Law,' that is, on the older laws in E.xx.22, &c., upon which the Covenant between Jehovah and Israel is supposed to have been based, xxiv.3-8, and many of the prescrip-

tions of which had in later times become obsolete, and required to be replaced by others more suitable to the existing circumstances. In this Book, at any rate, *Moses*—not *Jehovah*—is represented as legislating throughout, and supplying a sort of ‘supplement or codicil,’ *p.792*, to the older legislation. The only part of the Pentateuch, to which the term ‘forgery’ might perhaps with some justice be applied, is (as I have said in a former preface) the Later Legislation, in which the priestly writers have ascribed to Jehovah Himself laws contrived by themselves for the aggrandisement and glorification of their order.

But Mr.ESPIN’s Commentary, though to be commended for the calm and temperate spirit in which it is generally written, is liable to the same charge as the rest of this volume, *viz.* that from beginning to end it is merely a laboured attempt to build up traditionary notions, with scarcely a single noteworthy recognition of the results which have followed from the close examination of the Pentateuch in modern times by the most distinguished scholars of Europe.

It is true, Mr.ESPIN assents to the important innovation on the usual traditionary views, which Mr.CLARK has advanced in the Commentary on Exodus (*Ex.112*), *viz.* that we have not a genuine copy of the Ten Commandments, as uttered by the Divine Voice on Sinai, either in E.xx or in D.v. And, as this conclusion has been deliberately adopted by two of these authorised Commentators, representing the whole English Episcopate, and must (we may fairly conclude) have been approved, not only by Canon COOK, the Editor, but by the Committee of reference ‘on questions arising during the progress of the work,’ *viz.* ‘the Archbishop of York, in consultation with the Regius Professors of Divinity of Oxford and Cambridge,’ *Adv. p.2*, it may be presumed that this fact, at all events, will be recognised henceforth by the clergy generally of the Church of England, and be communicated to the laity, as

occasion may offer, by instruction from the pulpit or in schools. It seems impossible that any, possessing a knowledge of this fact, should be content to teach that ‘God’s commandments,’ which in his baptism every Christian is pledged to ‘keep, and walk in the same all the days of his life,’ are ‘the same which God spake in the twentieth chapter of Exodus,’ without explaining from time to time, as opportunity shall be given, that these precepts of the Decalogue, as we now possess them in E.xx are *not* ‘those which God spake,’ any more than the version of them which we find in D.v—that ‘God’s commandments,’ in fact, as uttered on Sinai, are irretrievably lost, being overlaid with the comments of Moses. It is possible that the plain statement of such a fact, made in the ears of most modern congregations, would produce in many a feeling of consternation, in not a few one of surprise that they have never been told this before, and in others, I imagine, a determination to *know more*, and to search to the bottom of the secret which has so long been locked up from them.

Again, Mr.ESPIN allows that not only D.xxxiv, which contains the account of the death and burial of Moses, but parts, at least, of the chapters immediately preceding, xxxi—xxxiii, were—

probably added to the rest by Joshua, or some other duly authorised prophet or leader of the people, after the death of Moses. p.791.

and that x.6,7—

may be, as may some other notices of a like character, *e.g.* ii.10–12, 20–23, a gloss. p.836.

These, however, are unimportant concessions, which can be made without any serious difficulty from the traditionary point of view; though some remarks upon them, critically considered, will be found in the proper places in the following comment upon this Commentary.

A far more momentous admission, when regarded in its ultimate consequences, is that in which this Commentary

agrees with those on Leviticus and Numbers in renouncing the traditionary notion of Moses having received these laws by *direct oral communication from the Deity*, except, perhaps, the Decalogue in its original form. According to Mr. ESPIN, *Moses* was throughout the legislator, though, of course, under Divine inspiration; and the form of words which he has so frequently employed, ‘Jehovah spake unto Moses,’ must not be understood to mean that Moses *heard* these words addressed to him, and took them down in writing as they came from the mouth of the Divine Legislator, but only conceived the laws in question in his own mind under supernatural teaching, and enacted them for the good of his people. It is true, this seems to be distinctly at variance with the meaning of the Scripture writer in L.i.1, N.vii.89, *comp.* E.xxv.22, xxix.42,43, xxx.6,36, &c., which clearly imply actual oral communication between Jehovah and Moses, just as when the Ten Commandments were spoken ‘with a great voice unto all the Assembly,’ D.v.22, only that these last were uttered publicly in the ears of Moses and the people, and the other laws were imparted to Moses alone, or in some cases to Moses and Aaron. It is not for me to attempt to reconcile these views, advanced in this Commentary, with the Scripture statements. They have very much the appearance of *rationalism*; and they at once raise the question how the legislator could be sure that the laws which his reason suggested and his judgment approved, were Divinely infallible, like those which Jehovah Himself had spoken, or how *we* can be assured that he was kept all along while framing them, by supernatural agency, from being at any single moment misled by human infirmity or ignorance, as when, for instance, we find, as Mr. ESPIN says, that—

Concubinage was tolerated and seduction but lightly punished under the Law.
p.884.

Moreover, we might ask whether the *conversations* which Jehovah so frequently holds with Moses, *e.g.* E.xxxii.7–10,

N.xi.16-20, xii.4,6-8,14, xiv.11,12,20-25,26-35, xx.8,12, are to be regarded as equally *imaginary*, the product of the *mind* of Moses under Divine inspiration; for if, on such occasions, Jehovah really 'spake unto Moses' with human voice in the Hebrew tongue, why not also in uttering these laws?

But I am bound to show that Mr.ESPIN, like Mr.CLARK, and (we must suppose) the Editor and the Committee of reference, does really hold the above view—especially as he sometimes uses language of another kind, more in accordance with traditionary notions, as where he speaks of 'God's Law,' p.894, 'the laws revealed by God to His people by Moses,' p.893, and says—

God has in the Mosaic Law positively commanded many things: these, however, relate to external observances, which, if need be, can be enforced. p.837.

Moreover, the expressions which he frequently employs—

ritual (laws, Law, enactments) of *Moses*, p.837, 859, 880, 887, 889, '*Mosaic system*' (ritual, covenant, Law, code, legislation), p.791, 792, 855, 861, 863, 865, '*Sinaitic system* (legislation). p.842, 845—

do not of necessity imply that he dissents from the popular 'orthodox' view. And Deuteronomy, being for the most part an address by Moses himself, who is supposed to be reciting and enforcing laws already delivered, there are not so many opportunities afforded in this Commentary as in the other portions of this volume, for expressing an opinion on this point. Still the following extracts sufficiently indicate the views really entertained by Mr.ESPIN as to the nature of these revelations to Moses, and explain the sense in which the above phraseology is really used by him:—

Having long ago propounded his formal legislative decrees, he now undertakes to explain and elucidate them. p.792.

The preceding books displayed Moses principally in the capacity of legislator or annalist. p.792.

Thus does Moses *in the very act of completing his own institutions*, foretell the eventual termination of them. p.792.

No one but the *original legislator* and historian would deal with his subject in this free and independent spirit. p.796.

The rebellion of Korah evidently included an attack on both *the ecclesiastical and civil arrangements of Moses*. p.839.

Several of the enactments in Deuteronomy are not found in the preceding books. But these additions do not betray another and a later hand than *that which gave the original code*. They are one and all such as are supplementary and explanatory of earlier laws, and *might well be suggested by a short experience of the working of those laws*, [dictated by Absolute Wisdom!] p.799.

The laugiver was about to be withdrawn, and his institutions were at length about to be put into full effect. p.842.

No doubt, the Great Day of Atonement, L.xxiii.26, &c. and the Feast of Trumpets, v.23, &c. are as positively *enjoined by Moses* as are the three Festivals mentioned in the present chapter. p.856—[*comp. 'Jehovah spake unto Moses,' v. 23,26.*]

In this (N.xi.16, &c.), as *in other parts of his legislation, Moses, strictly speaking, originates little*, but regulates and developes what was in its germs already present in the social system and habits of his people. p.862. N.B. We read in N.xi.16, 'And Jehovah said unto Moses,' and *comp. v.17,18-20*.

He (the legislator) now summarily repeats, with some supplementary additions, *from his former enactments, &c.* p.865.

Those requirements sound indeed but small to Christian ears. But, when the ferocity and mercilessness of Oriental wars in ancient times are recollected, *Moses may well in this, as in other respects, be thought to have carried his demands on the self-control of the people to the utmost they could then bear*. p.873.

Moses neither institutes nor enjoins divorce. . . . *Moses* could not absolutely put an end to a practice which was traditional and common to the Jews with other Oriental nations. . . . *Moses* withholds the right of divorce in certain cases. p.886.

Moses did not originate it, and in fact the rules in these verses, like those upon divorce, do but incorporate existing immemorial usages, and introduce various wise and politic limitations and mitigations of them. p.888.

But, except on these three points, I have found nothing to show that Mr.ESPIN has emancipated himself from the most narrow traditionary views, or that he has earnestly studied the writings of the great Continental critics of the day, with the determination to give due weight to their arguments; nor does he betray by a single allusion the fact of his being even acquainted with 'the latest information'—*e.g.* in the writings of GRAF and KUENEN—on the subject of the Later Legislation of the Pentateuch. I have carefully reviewed the Commentary

from beginning to end; and I do not think that I have left unnoticed a single point which concerns the present controversy. The reader, who will follow the course of these notes, will have his attention directed to the serious difficulties which beset the traditionary view, one after another. And he will find that the explanations given in the Commentary, like those in the preceding Parts of this work, are of a most superficial character,* and utterly fail to 'supply satisfactory answers to objections resting upon' an honest, critical examination of the text.†

Mr. ESPIN, like his brother-Commentators, has avoided for the most part the linguistic questions which arise in the critical examination of his subject, though out of the 128

* Those who cannot afford time to read through the following criticisms may be referred to (53,56,60,65), or more generally—

(i) For instances of *weak, fallacious, or erroneous* reasoning, see *Intr.* 4,5,26,27, 30,31,34, *Deut.* 5,15–18,26–28,35,36,39,44,45,47,50,51,57–59,61,62,64,66,68–71,87, 98,100–102,105,109,110,116,119,126,128,154,162,174,180;

(ii) For instances of *evasive* reasoning, see *Deut.* 3,4,37,38,41,42,48,52–56,60,65, 86,88,90–93,99,133,136,148,150,152,179;

(iii) For instances of *inaccurate* and *uncritical* reasoning, see *Intr.* 2,6,8–12,14, 16,18–20,21,25, *Deut.* 8,10,14,18,105,106,108,113,123,125,156,162,164,167,181–183;

(iv) For instances confirming, directly or indirectly, the results arrived at in my work on the Pentateuch, see *Intr.* 13,15,22,23, *Deut.* 1–3,7–9,11–13,17,19,21,22,24–26,29,32,40–42,49,58,59,67–69,73,75,79–84,87–91,94,95,102,134,161,176.

† I have noted a few additional errata in this Volume of the Commentary which may be corrected in a future edition, *p.* 651, l. 51, left, for V.11–35, read V.11–31—*p.* 663, l. 17, right, *dele* 'of the other'—*p.* 664, l. 1, right, for 'first-born' read 'male children'—*p.* 689, l. 26, right, *dele* ix.11—*p.* 771, l. 6,7,8, left, for 'latter, west, east,' read 'former, east, west'—*p.* 702, l. 42, right, for *v.* 39 read *v.* 29—*p.* 716, l. 48, left, L.xix.17, erroneous—*p.* 717, l. 26, left, *dele* L.x.1—*p.* 724, l. 10, left, for 20 read 22—*p.* 796, l. 2, left, for 19 (?) read 16—l. 42, right, for xxiv. read xxiv.8,9—*p.* 807, l. 2 from foot, left, for 'Jehoshaphat' (?) read 'Joram'—*p.* 812, l. 6, left, for 1Chr.xi. read 1Chr.ii.—*p.* 814, l. 19, right, for 1Sam.xvii. read 1Sam.xxvii—*p.* 822, l. 40, left, for E.xx.9, read E.xix.9—*p.* 829, l. 1, left, for E.xxiii. read E.xxxiii.—*p.* 869, l. 21, right, for *v.* 10–20 (?) read *v.* 20–22—*p.* 894, last line, left, for *communication* read *commination*—*p.* 895, last but one, left, for 20–23 read 20–33—*p.* 915, l. 28, right, for E.xx. read E.xxi.

pages allotted to his Commentary, 46 are expended in merely reprinting the English Authorised Version. On one single point, however, he has entered into this arena, and quoted a series of arguments, selected from KÆNIG, to show that the Deuteronomist cannot possibly have been the prophet Jeremiah. I have shown below (*Intr.* 17-22) the worthlessness of these arguments. And, though it is not essential to any theory as to the non-Mosaic origin and composite character of the Pentateuch to assign the different portions of it to particular authors, yet, if it is once admitted (as it now is generally by the most eminent modern critics) that this book was written in the latter years of the Jewish Monarchy, there is no reason *à priori* why it should not have been composed by Jeremiah; rather, there is a strong presumption that it may be the work of his hand, since there is no other great prophet known to us in that age, to whom it could be so probably attributed, none whose writings are distinguished by like power and fluency, and by a very similar phraseology, which is very distinct from that of Ezekiel. But now that I have been led by Mr. ESPIN's remarks to reconsider this question, the view which I have hitherto held rather as a very strong presumption, that Jeremiah was the reviser of the Pentateuch and the writer of Deuteronomy, has become a conviction. I have summed up below the arguments which tend decisively, as it seems to me, to this conclusion (*Intr.* 23). And I regard the original 'Book of the Law' or 'Book of the Covenant,' comprising D.iv.44, v-xxvi, xxviii, xxix.1, as a grand effort of Jeremiah's youth to stem the torrent of idolatry, immorality, and violence, which, even under Josiah's government, Jer.ii.11-13, 20, 26-28, iii. 6-11, v.1-9, 30, 31, vi.6, 7, 13, as he saw, was fast hurrying his countrymen into the abyss—the result, perhaps, of a plan devised by him in combination with his father Hilkiyah and his aunt, the prophetess Huldah, to obtain a serious hearing at least for his remonstrances, which the spoken utterances of one

so youthful, however earnest, were not likely, and, in fact, had not been able, to command, Jer.i.6-8,17-19. It was thus he began his lifelong struggle with 'the prophets who prophesied falsely, and the priests who bore rule by their means, and the people who loved to have it so,' v.31—prophets and priests and people professing all the while the same religion as himself, but a corrupted form of it—with whom he waged an internecine warfare, as religious teachers in this and every other age must do, even within the bounds of their own Church, if they would maintain what they believe to be the Truth of the Living God against a superstitious idolatry of the mere letter of the Bible, and an unreality, a disregard of facts, which tends to generate in the minds of multitudes the direst unbelief in the sublime lessons, not only of Deuteronomy, but of Christianity itself.

J. W. NATAL.

BISHOPSTOWE, NATAL.

1872.

* * Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* is quoted below as *D.B.* The different Parts of my work on the Pentateuch are quoted as (I.57), (VI.43), &c.

It may be well to mention here that—

In Part III, I have fixed the age of the *Deuteronomist*—who may possibly be Jeremiah—in the first years of king Josiah.

In Part V, I have separated the passages due to the different writers in Genesis, have determined approximately the ages of these writers, viz. the *Elohist* (E.) in the days of Samuel, the *Second Elohist* (E₂.) in the beginning of David's reign, the *Jehovist* (J.) in David's reign and the first part of Solomon's.

In Part VI (just published), I have shown that all Leviticus and large portions of Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua, with a few passages of Deuteronomy, were written after the Captivity, and I have included these under the designation of the *Later or Levitical Legislation* (L.L.); and I have further separated throughout Exodus—Joshua the portions due to the different authors, Elohist, Jehovist, Deuteronomist, and Later Legislator, giving at full length the *Original Story* of the Exodus (O.S.), as it came into the hands of the Deuteronomist.

CONTENTS.



	PAGE
PREFACE	v
INTRODUCTION TO DEUTERONOMY	3
THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY	39

HE WHO PROPAGATES A DELUSION, AND HE WHO CONNIVES AT IT WHEN ALREADY EXISTING, BOTH ALIKE TAMPER WITH TRUTH. WE MUST NEITHER LEAD NOR LEAVE MEN TO MISTAKE FALSEHOOD FOR TRUTH. NOT TO UNDECEIVE, IS TO DECEIVE. THE GIVING, OR NOT CORRECTING, FALSE REASONS FOR RIGHT CONCLUSIONS, FALSE GROUNDS FOR RIGHT BELIEF, FALSE PRINCIPLES FOR RIGHT PRACTICE—THE HOLDING FORTH, OR FOSTERING, FALSE CONSOLATIONS, FALSE ENCOURAGEMENTS, OR FALSE SANCTIONS, OR CONNIVING AT THEIR BEING HELD FORTH OR BELIEVED—ARE ALL PIOUS FRAUDS. THIS SPRINGS FROM, AND IT WILL FOSTER AND INCREASE, A WANT OF VENERATION FOR TRUTH: IT IS AN AFFRONT PUT ON THE ‘SPIRIT OF TRUTH,’—Archbishop WHATELY, *on Bacon's Essays*, p.10.

INTRODUCTION TO DEUTERONOMY.

REV. T. E. ESPIN, B.D.

INTRODUCTION TO DEUTERONOMY.



1. Mr.ESPIN begins by making the following slight concession :—

The second and much the shorter part of the book, containing the 31st and three following chapters, was probably added to the rest by Joshua, or some other duly authorised prophet or leader of the people, after the death of Moses. *p.791.*

I have shown in (VI.126,128,130) that some portions of this ‘second part of the book,’ *viz.* xxxi.14,15,23, xxxiv.5,6,10, belong to the O.S. ; thus in xxxi.15, Jehovah descends in the pillar of cloud at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting, just exactly as in E.xxxiii.9, N.xii.5, of the O.S. Other portions, however, belong to the L.L., *viz.* xxxi.16–22, xxxii.44,48–52, xxxiv.1–4,7–9 (VI.127,129,130). But xxxi.1–13,24–30, xxxii.45–47, xxxiv.5,6,11,12, show the same style exactly as the ‘first part’ of Deuteronomy, and evidently belong to the same hand. To D. also belongs the Song in xxxii.1–43 (III.798–801), which, of course, Mr.ESPIN also ascribes to the Deuteronomist, *i.e.*, on his view, Moses, but on our view a writer in the age of Josiah, and most probably the prophet Jeremiah. The ‘Blessing of Moses’ in xxxiii belongs also to the same age, though not to the same hand (VI.131–5).

2. Mr.ESPIN proceeds to say—

It is thus evident that the delivery of these speeches, and likewise the utterance of the Song and Blessing, and the transaction of the closing events of Moses’ life, must all be placed chronologically in the first ten days of that eleventh month [of

the 40th year of the wanderings.] Accordingly, the speeches exhibit an unity of style and character which is strikingly consistent with such circumstances. They are pervaded by the same vein of thought, the same tone and tenor of feeling, the same peculiarities of conception and expression. They exhibit matter which is neither documentary nor traditional, but conveyed in the speaker's own words. p.791.

To which we reply, that it is not doubted that these speeches 'exhibit an unity of style and character,' which shows that they are due throughout (except x.6,7) to one and the same hand, as Mr.ESPIN says—

It is generally allowed that D. must, in substance, have come from one hand. . . . The book, in fact, presents, the last four chapters excepted, an undeniable unity in style and treatment; it is cast, so to speak, in one mould; its literary characteristics are such that we cannot believe the composition of it to have been spread over any long period of time. p.793.

But then the very same is exhibited in xxxi.1-13,24-30, xxxii.45-47, xxxiv.5,6,11,12, which Mr.ESPIN ascribes to 'Joshua, or some other duly authorised prophet or leader, after the death of Moses'; and, moreover, in J.i.3-18, viii.30-35, xxi.43-45, xxii.1-6, xxiii (VI.App.**47,59,70,71,73**), the same style exactly reappears, and cannot therefore be the style of Moses.

3. Further, Mr.ESPIN says of these addresses—

Their aim is strictly hortatory, their style earnest, heart-stirring, impressive, in passages sublime, but throughout rhetorical. They keep constantly in view the circumstances then present, and the crisis to which the fortunes of Israel had at last been brought. Moses had before him not the men to whom by God's command he delivered the Law at Sinai, but the generation following which had grown up in the wilderness. *Large portions of the Law necessarily stood in abeyance during the years of wandering.* And of his present hearers many must have been strangers to various prescribed observances and ordinances, and those not unimportant ones. p.791.

It is plain that the writer has more than once entirely lost sight of the fact that Moses is not supposed to be addressing the assembly with whom the covenant was made 39 years

previously at Horeb, *e.g.* in v.3, see (*Deut.*25) below. But the statement above italicised is a gratuitous assumption, for which there is not the least ground in the previous narrative, however incredible it may be that such laws should have either been observed or enjoined in the wilderness.

4. Again, Mr.ESPIN says—

Sometimes too opportunity is taken of promulgating regulations which are supplementary or auxiliary to those of the preceding books; some few modifications, suggested by longer experience or altered circumstances, are now made; and the whole Mosaic system is completed by the addition of several enactments in ch.xii-xxvi of a social, civil, and political nature. . . . Accordingly, the legislator, at the command of God, completes his great work by supplying them. Thus he provides civil institutions for his people accredited by the same Divine sanctions as had been vouchsafed to their religious rites. *p.*791.

If this were really a ‘Mosaic system,’ and the phrases ‘And Jehovah spake unto Moses,’ ‘And Jehovah spake unto Moses and Aaron,’ merely formulæ, implying no oral communications, as is clearly intended in *Li.*1, &c., but only utterances of the mind of Moses himself under (real or supposed) Divine influences, such language as the above would be appropriate, and this, it is clear, is the view held by the writers in this Commentary on Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. But on the traditionary view it cannot be believed that Moses would here, without referring to any ‘command of God’ or special ‘Divine sanctions,’ as in the case of the earlier laws—for, as Mr.ESPIN says—

the various commandments are given in Deuteronomy as *injunctions of Moses*, and not, as before, directly in the name of God. *p.*792.

proceed to introduce into those laws, adapted by a perfect Divine wisdom to the wants of the people, and especially meant to be carried out in Canaan, and not in the wilderness, as Mr. ESPIN affirms (*Num.*136),—

Modifications suggested by longer experience or altered circumstances.

But the most noticeable fact is that in these addresses Moses makes no reference whatever to those 'religious rites' which had been 'accredited by Divine sanctions,' in the Books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, but which, as we may thence conclude, had not yet been written. As Mr.ESPIN justly says—

Large and important sections of the Mosaic code are unnoticed in this book.
p.792.

5. Mr.ESPIN then speaks of Moses as a prophet.

He not only warns and teaches with an authority and energy, which the sublimest pages of the Four Greater Prophets cannot surpass, but he delivers some of the most notable and incontrovertible predictions to be found in the O.T. The prophecy in xviii.18 respecting the prophet like himself had no doubt its partial verifications in successive ages; but its terms are satisfied in none of them. The prospect opened by it advances continually until it finds its rest in the Messiah, who stands alone as the only complete counterpart of Moses and the greater than he. Ch.xxviii furnishes another and no less manifest example. The punishments there denounced are so minutely and pointedly specified, and were on record, whatever opinion be adopted about the age and authorship of Deuteronomy, so many centuries before the destruction of the Jewish Commonwealth by the Romans which so strikingly realised them, that the argument derived from such prediction and fulfilment cannot be gainsayed or evaded.
p.792.

There is not the least reference either in xviii.18 to 'the Messiah' or in xxviii to the Roman Conquest; and, this being the case, the whole argument of Mr.ESPIN is worthless. But, even if there were such reference, it would only follow—not that Moses, but—that some great prophet wrote these prophecies, as we, in fact, believe Jeremiah to have done, whatever their meaning may be.

6. And now Mr.ESPIN proceeds to consider the philological arguments which bear upon the question of the authorship of Deuteronomy.

It is indeed asserted to be 'one of the most certain results of Modern Criticism' (COLENSO, III.863) that Deuteronomy was written in the later period of the Jewish Monarchy, and *consequently long after the main part of the Pentateuch*, to which it

forms a kind of appendix or peroration. Yet several scholars, who have adopted this self-same method of investigation, and who have a high reputation for learning and acuteness, have maintained, on the contrary, that Deuteronomy is more ancient than any [?] other part of the Pentateuch. They observe that the legislative element in Deuteronomy is exhibited in a simpler and more subjective form than in the preceding books, and hold that the matter-of-fact and systematic prescriptions of Exodus and Leviticus were evolved at a later date out of the prophetic discourses of Deuteronomy. . . . It is true that other authorities of the same school have treated this decision with scanty respect. But how little warrant there is, on the principles of the so-called higher criticism, at least, for this summary judgment, is apparent by the fact that KUENEN, whose work on the Pentateuch is one of the most recent [1861] and by no means the most learned . . . confesses that 'gradually the conviction has settled on his mind that there is more truth in the views of these last than is recognised by the defenders of the former view' (KUENEN *on the Pentateuch*, translated by COLENSO, pp.192-3). p.793.

It is unfortunate that Mr.ESPIN was not aware that Prof. KUENEN, in his *most recent* [1869-70] and most important work (*De Godsdiens van Israël*) has deliberately adopted the conclusion that the whole of the 'systematic prescriptions' in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, which I have called in Part VI. of my work on the Pentateuch 'the Later or Levitical Legislation,' were written after the Captivity, and has moreover somewhat modified his former view (agreeing with that of EWALD) that Deuteronomy was written in the age of Manasseh, by adopting that of GRAF, (agreeing with that maintained by myself in III.865-7), that it was composed in the early part of Josiah's reign. These are GRAF's words, as quoted by me in (VI.24):—

Among the most generally admitted results of the Historical Criticism of the O.T., for all who do not simply take up a position of antagonism against these results altogether, may be reckoned the composition of Deuteronomy in the time of Josiah.

And KUENEN gives his assent to this view, saying, *Theol. Tijdschr.*, July 1870, p.408—

I do not hesitate to prefer it to my former view, that this Law was already written, some years previously, under Manasseh's reign.

And this view it is which really reconciles the two sets of

opinions held by the older critics, to which Mr.ESPIN refers. It was seen by many that Deuteronomy was older than 'the matter-of-fact and systematic prescriptions of Exodus and Leviticus;' it was seen by others that Deuteronomy assumed in many passages the existence of parts of Exodus and Numbers. But neither set of writers had thoroughly worked out the whole question. Now, however, the matter is explained by finding that Deuteronomy was written *after* the O.S. and *before* the L.L.

7. Mr.ESPIN proceeds as follows:—

More recently still, KALISCH, in his commentary on Leviticus, Part I., published in 1867, whilst allowing that 'the author of Deuteronomy had before him *full outlines of the narrative and legislation of the three middle books of the Pentateuch*, is nevertheless decidedly of opinion that 'the elaborate system' of sacrifices, &c., laid down in Leviticus was developed on the basis afforded by Deuteronomy, and of course rejects on the whole the views of those 'who claim a higher antiquity for those middle books.' p.793.

The passages to which KALISCH refers as showing that 'the author of Deuteronomy had before him full outlines of the narrative and legislation of the three middle books of the Pentateuch,' are D.iv.5, v.12,16, vi.1,17, xx.17, xxiv.8,9, in all of which (with one exception) the reference is merely made in general terms to 'statements and judgments, which Jehovah commanded,' &c., referring, in short, to the laws of the O.S. in E.xx.22, &c., upon which 'the covenant made with them in Horeb,' (D.xxix.1) was supposed to be based, E.xxiv.3, &c., without the slightest allusion to those of the L.L. KALISCH, however, seems here to suppose that D.xxiv.8 refers to the laws about 'leprosy' in L.xiii.xiv, for which there is no real ground (*Deut.*120). And his general conclusion is as follows, p.43:—

From all these premises we are irresistibly forced to the conclusion that the minute and complicated sacrificial legislation of Leviticus originated at a considerably later time than Deuteronomy. And, as the Book of Deuteronomy can, from internal evidence, not have been written earlier than the seventh century before

the present era [Josiah began to reign B.C. 641], and is most probably the 'Book of the Law' or the 'Book of the Covenant' found in the Temple during the reign of Josiah, the sacrificial laws of Leviticus were not compiled before the Babylonian period, and came into operation in the Second Temple only, after the return of the Jews from captivity.

8. And now Mr. ESPIN indulges in the usual tirade about the 'untrustworthy' character of Modern Criticism because of these differences of opinion.

In truth no more convincing proof could be afforded that the method of criticism in question is untrustworthy, than the results of its application to Deuteronomy. The older scholars, GESENIUS, DE WETTE, EWALD, BLEEK, &c., unhesitatingly affirmed that Deuteronomy was written long after the rest of the Pentateuch was extant in its present shape. The newer school sees no less certainly in Deuteronomy the primæval quarry out of which the writers concerned in the production of the preceding books drew their materials. Out of this conflict of opinion one inference may be safely drawn. The allegation so positively made, that the very style of Deuteronomy betrays its late origin, is *arbitrary and baseless*. p.793.

It will be seen from the remarks at the end of (6) that there is no real ground whatever for 'drawing' the above 'inference.' The origin of the observed 'conflict of opinions' is sufficiently plain, and the conflict itself has arisen from the regard which each set of writers had for that side of the truth which they saw more clearly than the other. But the differences are completely reconciled, except on minor details, as soon as it is seen that the composition of the O.S. *preceded*, and that of the L.L. *followed*, that of Deuteronomy.

9. Mr. ESPIN then observes :—

No doubt, the Book is written in a very different manner from the preceding ones. Yet the parallelisms between it and them both in ideas and expressions are neither few nor insignificant (*e.g. comp. D.xxviii with L.xxvi throughout*). . . . And the fact that the Book consists mainly of three speeches addressed by Moses to the people in immediate view of his own death and their entrance into Canaan sufficiently explains its literary characteristics. Naturally the matter thus orally set forth is given in more sustained, flowing, and rhetorical language, &c. p.794.

The 'flowing and rhetorical language' of Deuteronomy might certainly have been accounted for as above, but for the fact

that identically the same style is found in J.i.3-18, xxii.1-6, xxiii.1-16, (VI.App.47,71,73), in speeches ascribed to Joshua after the death of Moses.

There is a general resemblance between D.xxviii and L.xxvi, such as would naturally be found in writings of two prophets out of the same age and circle. But there is no special resemblance, except in L.xxvi.8,16,17,19,21,29, where the writer of L.xxvi appears to have imitated the language of D.xxviii, xxxii (VI.App.1.viii). On the other hand, there is a very close and striking similarity between L.xxvi and *Ezekiel* (VI.5), thirty-five expressions being common to L.xxvi and *Ezekiel*, of which eighteen occur nowhere else in the Bible, and the rest nowhere else in the Pentateuch; besides which there are nineteen others, common to L.xxvi and *Ezekiel*, of which six only occur also in Deuteronomy (VI.6,8). From all this it appears highly probable that *Ezekiel* was the writer of L.xxvi. And it is very noticeable that the Book of *Ezekiel* also exhibits some remarkable parallelisms with D.xxviii, xxxii (VI.App.1.viii).

10. Mr.ESPIN then notes on 'archaic forms' in Deuteronomy as follows:—

It is to be observed also that *all the classes of archaisms, whether in vocabulary or grammatical forms, which have been pointed out as characteristic of the Hebrew of the Pentateuch, are found in Deuteronomy, and some frequently.* p.794.

The statement above made is rash and inaccurate. Of the five 'archaisms in grammatical forms,' which have been pointed out by Bp.BROWNE (*Intr. to Pent.* 26), only three, or (?) four, occur in Deuteronomy.

(a) הָיָא for הָיָא, i.16,18, &c.

(b) נָעַר for נָעָרָה, xxii.15,16,20,21,23-27,29: but how is it that we find also the *later* form (נָעָרָה) in xxii.19?

(c) אָל for אֵלָה, iv.42, vii.22, xix. 11: but see the *later* form also in v.3, xxii.5, xxv.16.

(d) 'infinitive of verbs in הָ ending in י instead of וֹת,' does not occur at all in Deuteronomy.

(c) '3rd pers. plur. præt. ending in ך instead of ך, viii.3,16 : but see the *later* form in i.28, ii.10,11,12, &c.

And of the twelve 'archaisms in the vocabulary,' five, viz. (b), (e), (i), (j), (l), do not occur in D., four, viz. (c), (d), (f), (g), occur *only* in D. or in Deuteronomistic passages in the other books, and are probably not archaisms at all, and there remain these three—

(a) אֶבֶר, E.xxiii.15(O.S.), which D. has merely copied in D.xvi.1 ;

(h) יָקוּם, 'substance,' G.vii.4,23 (O.S.), D.xi.6 ;

(k) עָר for עִיר, 'city,' N.xxi.15,28 (O.S.), D.ii.9, Is.xv.1, where however, the word in every instance is used as a Proper Name for the capital of Moab, Ar-Moab.

The only real instances of archaisms are found in the use of the grammatical forms (a), (b), (c), (e), as above. But the effect of these is altogether vitiated for the purpose of Mr. ESPIN's argument by the fact of these *archaic* forms being used—it would seem, inadvertently—together with *later* forms, to which the writer was, no doubt, accustomed. They are important, however, as *indicating an evident intention on his part to give the book an archaic appearance, so as to harmonise with the O.S. already existing.*

11. It is satisfactory, at all events, to find next the following recognition of the strong resemblance which exists between Deuteronomy and the prophecies of Jeremiah.

The writings of Jeremiah often strikingly recall passages of Deuteronomy. The prophet repeatedly employs words and phrases which are characteristic of Deuteronomy. Numerous illustrations and examples are given by COLENSO on 'Pent,' III.556 ; and there is also at times a remarkable similarity of general style and treatment. These resemblances are neither few nor insignificant. It is needless in this place to demonstrate their existence and importance, which are now admitted on all hands. The question here to be considered is, how are they to be accounted for ? p.794.

Mr.ESPIN, of course, explains this resemblance from Jeremiah's close study of Deuteronomy.

The priest of Anathoth would have made the Law his study from his childhood, and his modes of thought and expression would naturally be greatly influenced by that Law, and more so than those of the *non-priestly* prophets. [But we find no such 'remarkable similarity' to Deuteronomy in Ezekiel.] Of all parts of the Pentateuch Deuteronomy would in the calamitous days of Jeremiah come home to the prophet's mind with most frequency and force. . . . What wonder, then, that Jeremiah's utterances should so often sound like an echo of Deuteronomy—that his denunciations, as did those of his contemporary Huldah, *comp.* 2K.xxii.16, &c., with D.xxix.2, &c. [? 25, &c.] should fall into the strains of this book? *p.*794.

12. But, not to press here the fact (VII.230) that not only the words of the prophetess Huldah, but those of every other prophet (except Isaiah) quoted in the Books of Kings, with respect to which, says Bp. Lord HERVEY, *D.B.* II.*p.*28—

The Jewish tradition, which ascribes them to *Jeremiah*, is borne out by the strongest internal evidence, in addition to that of the language—

bear the like close family resemblance to the language of *Deuteronomy*, yet how could *Jeremiah* have made this book 'his study *from his childhood*,' or how could *Huldah* have so thoroughly acquired its style, when it had only just been found in the Temple, and manifestly had not been read by her, 2K. xxii.8-14? Whether it was 'the Book of Deuteronomy only,' or (as we hold, VI.28) only a portion of it, the 'Book of the Law' or the 'Book of the Covenant,' *viz.* iv.44, v-xxvi, xxviii, xxix.1, or (as Mr.ESPIN seems inclined to think, on the ground of 2Ch.xxxiv.14)—

the original copy of the Pentateuch deposited by order of Moses in the Ark—

in any case this book, which was found by Hilkiah in the Temple, was, as Mr.ESPIN says—

brought again to the knowledge of the king and people, after having been banished from public sight and use for nearly sixty years during the two preceding reigns. *p.*794.

Mr.ESPIN can hardly mean to say that, though 'banished from *public* sight and use,' it was studied *privately* by Huldah

and Jeremiah—by the latter ‘from his childhood,’ and during those five years of his prophetic career, which preceded the ‘finding of the Book’ in the Temple, *comp.* Jer.i.2, 2K.xxii.3—though the secret of its existence was all the while carefully kept from ‘the knowledge of the king and people.’

13. Of course there would be the same difficulty in explaining Jeremiah’s free adoption of the style of Deuteronomy in those prophecies which were delivered by him during the first five years of his activity, before the Book of the Law was found, *viz.* parts, at least, of Jer.ii.1, vi.30 (VII.337). But his prophecies, as we now possess them, were not written down till the fourth year of Jehoiakim, xxxvi.1,4,6, &c., 23 years after he began to prophesy; and it might be supposed that at this time, in dictating them to ‘Baruch the scribe,’ v.4,32, he may have *modified* unconsciously the language which he had actually used in former days, and introduced the style of Deuteronomy with which he had now become familiar. But it is very noticeable that Jeremiah, though *he certainly knew the Book of Deuteronomy*, since he uses in xxxiv.14 the identical language of D.xv.12, and not of the O.S. in E.xxi.2, on which D.xv.12 itself is based (VI.357)—yet never once refers to the ‘Book of the Law’ or the ‘Book of the Covenant’ in all his prophecies; a fact which is inexplicable, if he was such a devout student of it as Mr.ESPIN supposes, but is very natural, if he was himself the writer of it.

14. But Mr.ESPIN adds further on this point—

It is probable too that Jeremiah and Hilkiab were related; and it is at any rate certain that they were friends and fellow-labourers in the restoration of religion effected under Josiah; and thus the prophet would be one of the very first to be informed of Hilkiab’s discovery, as he would naturally be one of the most intensely moved by it. p.795.

It seems very probable that ‘Jeremiah and Hilkiab were related’—that, in fact, Jeremiah was the son of this very Hil-

kiah (VII.211); and this helps to throw a clear light upon the whole transaction, and accounts very naturally for the book being found at this time in the Temple. Mr. ESPIN indeed says—

Jeremiah speaks of himself as ‘the son of Hilkiah.’ But this was hardly Hilkiah the High-priest; for, had he been so, he would have been so styled; and the priests of Anathoth were (1K.ii.26) of the house of Abiathar, which had been deposed from the high-priesthood by Solomon. The name Hilkiah too was common. But when we note (*comp.* Jer.xxxii.7 with 2K.xxii.14) that Shallum the uncle of Jeremiah was apparently the husband of Huldah the prophetess, and that Ahikam, Jeremiah’s protector, Jer.xxvi.24, was with Huldah one of Hilkiah’s coadjutors in the work of reform, 2Ch.xxiv.20, it seems likely that there was some affinity between the Prophet and the High-priest. *p.*795.

But Jehoiada is not called the ‘High-priest,’ only ‘the priest,’ 2K.xi.9, and so Urijah, xvi.10; and neither Jeremiah nor Ezekiel ever speaks of the ‘High-priest’ in his prophecies. It is true that Hilkiah is called ‘High-priest’—probably by Jeremiah himself—in 2K.xxii.4,8, xxiii.4; but he is called by the same writer ‘Hilkiah the priest’ in xxii.10,12,14, xxiii.24. It is plain that in Jeremiah’s time there was no such distinction between the High-priest and the priests as the L.L. introduced after the Captivity, so that he might very well describe himself as ‘Jeremiah son of Hilkiah of the priests that were in Anathoth,’ Jer.i.1, though his father was ‘High-priest’ at the time.

No doubt, Abiathar ‘owned certain fields’ at Anathoth, *p.*866, and so Jeremiah’s family had land there, xxxii.7–9. But why might not priestly families have lived and held private property at Anathoth, who were not descended from Abiathar? Besides which, the Chronicler’s statements about the distinction between the lines of Eleazar (Abiathar) and Ithamar (Zadok) 1Ch.xxiv.1–6, are entirely fictitious, and so is probably the genealogy of the High-priests unto the Captivity, vi.4,&c., which at any rate does not contain the names of Jehoiada and Urijah, and repeats twice the series of Amariah, Ahitub, Zadok. In short,

it is quite possible, in spite of the Chronicler's deriving Hilkiah from Zadok, that Jeremiah's family may have been descended from Abiathar, though I do not maintain this.

15. If, however, Huldah the prophetess was Jeremiah's *aunt*, as we hold with Mr.ESPIN, the whole affair becomes still more transparent. It certainly would be very natural, as Mr.ESPIN says, that Jeremiah under any circumstances should be 'one of the very first to be informed of Hilkiah's discovery.' But the noticeable fact is, that 'Hilkiah the priest' and the other officers sent by the king to 'enquire of Jehovah' on this occasion, do not go to *Jeremiah*, though he had been prophesying now for five years (12), but they go to Huldah, 2K.xxii.14, &c. This too is intelligible enough if Jeremiah was himself the writer of the book, and kept out of the way, with his father Hilkiah's cognisance—at Anathoth, perhaps—while the first news of the discovery transpired, his aunt Huldah being also in the secret, and being prepared with her reply. But it is equally remarkable that in the whole account of Josiah's Reformation there is not the slightest indication of Jeremiah's presence, much less of his activity; though, no doubt, he would have been present among the 'priests and prophets' in 2K. xxiii.2, in whose ears Josiah read the contents of the book, and among whom were numbered Jeremiah's bitterest opponents.

16. After all this it is mere bravado when Mr.ESPIN concludes:—

The coincidences then between Deuteronomy and the prophecies of Jeremiah are only what might be expected from the known circumstances of Jewish history. Their existence, so far from furnishing any kind of argument against the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, *rather suggests confirmation of the traditional view*. All the circumstances considered, it would have been *pro tanto* a reason for misgivings about the authenticity of Deuteronomy, if a great prophet of the times and in the circumstances of Jeremiah had not manifested much of the spirit and power of Deuteronomy. p.795.

But Jeremiah manifests not merely the 'spirit and power,'

but the 'words and phrases, which are characteristic of Deuteronomy' (11); and the very same 'remarkable similarity of general style and treatment' with Deuteronomy appears also in the Books of Kings, which are confidently ascribed to Jeremiah's hand (12), and suggest at once the same conjecture as to the authorship of Deuteronomy. On the other hand, no such resemblance can be traced between Deuteronomy and *Ezekiel*, though he too was 'a great prophet of the times of Jeremiah,' and, as far as this subject is concerned, in very similar 'circumstances.'

17. Mr. ESPIN, however, proceeds thus with his remarks on this point:—

Further, whilst the language of Jeremiah unquestionably indicates an acquaintance with the Book of Deuteronomy, it is yet apparent, if linguistic considerations are to decide, that the author of Deuteronomy and of the prophecies which pass under the name of Jeremiah were neither *identical* nor *contemporary*. The resemblances between the two books are on the surface, easy to notice, and *at first sight are very striking*. A more minute scrutiny of the language of the writings under comparison will make it manifest that, whilst there is in various passages of the later document a *distinct imitation or repetition of the earlier*, yet that *the two are in date, associations, idioms, and vocabulary, as distinct as any two other writers in the Old Testament (!)* After the complete and exhaustive discussion of this subject by KÖNIG, which has never been and cannot be answered, lengthened argument on this point is needless. p.795.

It is very noticeable that, while 'the language of Jeremiah unquestionably indicates an acquaintance with the Book of Deuteronomy,' while 'the writings of Jeremiah strikingly recall passages of Deuteronomy' (11),—

the prophet repeatedly employs words and phrases which are characteristic of Deuteronomy, and there is also at times a remarkable similarity of general style and treatment—

and 'in various passages' of Jeremiah there is 'a distinct imitation or repetition' of Deuteronomy, yet he not only (as has been before observed) never once mentions the 'Book of the Law' or the 'Book of the Covenant,' by which Deuteronomy

itself is so often named, D.xxviii.61, xxix.21, xxx.10, xxxi.26, J.i.8, viii.31,34, xxiii.6, xxiv.26, 2K.xiv.6, xxii.8,11, xxiii.2,21, but *never even alludes to the book*, except in xxxiv.9,14, to D.xv.12, and in xi.3-5 either to the covenant in D.xxix.1 or (more probably) to that in 2K.xxiii.3. This very slight direct reference to Deuteronomy, with which he must have been familiar, can only (it would seem) be reasonably explained by the fact of his having been himself the writer of it, and so shrinking naturally from quoting it as an authority, while he yet 'employs words and phrases' of it continually, as proper to his own style and flowing freely from his own pen.

18. But Mr.ESPIN, at the end of the above extract, has laid great stress upon KÆNIG's work. That work is undoubtedly the result of most painstaking labour; but it is so crowded with lists of perfectly useless and irrelevant formulæ, piled one upon another without any due discrimination, that it becomes a most tedious business to examine it thoroughly, and estimate its real value; and Mr.ESPIN may boldly say, as above, that it 'has never been and cannot be answered'—that is, *at full length, in all its details*. But Mr.ESPIN has selected (I presume) what he considers the most telling arguments in KÆNIG's work, and supplied them in a note, which I proceed now to consider.

Phrases and words of constant use in Jeremiah are absent from Deuteronomy altogether.

(i) נָאִם-יְהוָה, 'saith Jehovah,' and נָאִם-אֲדֹנָי, 'saith the Lord,' which are found above 100 times in Jeremiah. Had these phrases been familiar to the writer of Deuteronomy, he could hardly have altogether omitted to use them.

Ans. Why should he have used these phrases, peculiar to *prophecy*, in Deuteronomy, which consists almost entirely of historical reminiscences, 'explanations and elucidations' of the laws of the O.S. already given, or additional 'enactments of a social, civil, and political nature.' In fact, the only places in the Pentateuch where this phraseology occurs are the prophetic passages, G.xxii.16, N.xiv.28, of which the former belongs to D., *i.e.* Jeremiah (V.66), and the latter to L.L. (VI.97), *i.e.* very possibly, Ezekiel.

But why, as Mr. ESPIN supposes Moses to have thus used it *twice*, has *he* not used it in Deuteronomy?

(ii) The like may be said of the phrase 'The word of the Lord came to me,' which, with slight variations, is frequent in Jeremiah.

Ans. The answer is the same as before: this phrase would only be used by a prophet, delivering a prophecy under a special Divine influence; and Moses is not supposed to be delivering a prophecy in Deuteronomy, except, perhaps, in the warnings and threatenings of xxviii, which differ altogether in character from ordinary prophetic utterances.

But the phrase is used of a Divine revelation in G.xv.1,4, which belongs to D. (V.66). And, as before, it may be asked why, if *Moses* has thus used it twice, *he* does not use it again in Deuteronomy?

(iii) 'Lord of hosts.'

Ans. Jeremiah uses this phrase most commonly (62 times) in the *prophetic* formula, 'Thus saith Jehovah (God) of hosts,' which was not needed in Deuteronomy, nor 'Thus saith Jehovah' or 'Thus saith Jehovah the God of Israel,' Jer.xi.3, xiii.12, &c., which last, however, D. employs in J.xxiv.2 (VI.187).

But Jeremiah, no doubt, uses the phrase 'Jehovah of hosts' in 20 other places, and in *eight* of these, x.16, xxxi.35, xxxii.18, xlvi.18, xlviii.15, l.34, li.19,57, *comp.* also xv.16, 'Thy name is called upon me, Jehovah God of hosts,' we find him saying 'Jehovah of hosts is His Name.' It would seem that, amidst the 'wars and rumours of wars' that surrounded him, Jeremiah laid a special stress upon this particular Title of the God of Israel, as indicating that Jehovah was overruling the fierce conflicts of the time, *comp.* xxxiii.11, xlvi.10, 125.

The Deuteronomist, however, had before him the language of the O.S. in E.iii.14,15, announcing 'Jehovah' simply as the name by which the God of Israel should be known—'This is My Name for ever, and this My memorial unto all generations.' And we have seen (10) that he expressly desired to assimilate his work with the older matter, which it followed closely in the original narrative of the Exodus, the connection not being interrupted, as now, by the insertion of an immense mass (62 chapters) of the L.L. Now it would have had rather a startling effect, and produced a striking dissonance with that older narrative, if he had introduced the phrase 'Lord of hosts,' which had not yet appeared in it, more especially if this phrase was known to have originated historically in the age of David (VII.120), centuries later than that of the Exodus.

It is noticeable that in Jeremiah's *earliest* prophecies, delivered during 18 years of Josiah's reign, and recorded in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, Jer.xxxvi, he only uses the phrase in the prophetic formula, 'Thus saith &c.,' ii.19, v.14, vi.6,9.

(iv) 'House of Jacob,' 'House of Israel.'

Ans. D. uses 'House of Jacob' in E.xix.3^b (VI.216), as in Jer.ii.4, v.20, and *comp.* D.xxxii.9. But why has *Moses*, if he had once used it in E.xix.3, not used it in Deuteronomy or anywhere else in the Pentateuch?

Jeremiah, however, frequently uses 'House of Israel (Jacob)' and 'House of

Judah' with reference to the *northern* and *southern* kingdoms, iii.18, v.11, xi.10,17, xiii.11, xxxi.27,31, xxxiii.14, *comp.* iii.20, xxiii.6, xxxvi.2, xlviii.13, or he seems to identify the 'House of Israel (Jacob)' with the 'House of Judah,' v.15,20, ix.26, while in xxiii.8, xxxi.33, xxxiii.17, he supposes 'all Israel' once more united under a king, the son of David—for all which, of course, there was no room in Deuteronomy.

(v) The expressions 'virgin of Israel,' 'the virgin daughter of My people,' &c. are again and again used by the prophet figuratively for the whole nation, and are not so used in Deuteronomy; on the contrary, the first of them occurs in D.xxii.19 in its primary sense.

Ans. There was not the least reason to expect to find such a phrase in Deuteronomy, before the people were supposed to exist as a nation in settled possession of their own land; for the phrase is used (says GES. *Lex.*) 'in apposition with names of *cities* and *countries*,' when 'it forms, a poetical personification, known also to other Eastern writers, whereby those *cities* and *countries* are regarded as young women or mothers.'

(vi) The favourite combination of the prophet 'to root out and to pull down and to destroy and to throw down and to plant, &c.' is not found in Deuteronomy, suitable as it is to the themes handled in that book.

Ans. This 'favourite combination' occurs as follows in Jeremiah's prophecies, *viz.* 'root-out, pull-down, destroy, throw-down, build, plant,' i.10, xxxi.28—'root-out, pull-down, destroy,' xviii.7—'root-out, throw-down, build, plant,' xxiv.6, xlii.10, xlv.4,—'root-out, destroy,' xii.17, xxxi.40—'build, plant,' xviii.9; and each of these verbs occurs in Deuteronomy, while we have the combinations 'pull-down, destroy,' xii.3, 'build, plant,' vi.10,11, xx.5,6, xxviii.30, J.xxiv.13, and *comp.* especially D.xxviii.63 with Jer.xxiv.6, xxxi.28, xxxii.41. Note also the combinations of *five* verbs in D.xii.3, xiii.8, *four* in D.vi.10,11, vii.5, *three* in E.xxxiv.13 (D), J.xxiv.13 (D), and for 'break-down pillars, burn with fire,' D.vii.5, xii.3, *comp.* Jer.xliii.13.

Thus it will be seen that (i), (ii), (v), are irrelevant to the present question, or, rather, (i), (ii), give evidence against KÆNIG'S view, since they actually occur in Deuteronomistic passages of the Pentateuch, as also do (iv) and (vi); and for the absence of (iii) sufficient explanation has been given.

19. But Mr.ESPIN now proceeds to reverse the argument.

(i) On the contrary, in Deuteronomy the writer constantly speaks of and to the people as 'Israel' simply, which Jeremiah *never* does (!)

Ans. See where Jeremiah speaks of 'Israel' ii.3,14,31, iii.6,8,11,12,23, vi.9, x.16, xiv.8, xvii.13, xxiii.6, xxx.4, xxxi.2,9,10, xxxiii.7, xxxvi.2, xlviii.27, xlix.1,2, l.17,19,20, li.5,49, and to 'Israel,' iv.1, xxx.10, xlv.27.

(ii) The phrase D. so constantly employs of observing the Law, 'hear and do,' *e.g.* D.v.27, is strange to Jeremiah.

Ans. See Jer.xi.4,6, xxxv.10,18, and *comp.* xxxii.23.

(iii) The Deut. phrase 'to cleave to the Lord,' *e.g.* D.x.20, is not found in Jeremiah, though it would often have suited his purpose well.

Ans. See Jer.xiii.11, 2K.xviii.6.

(iv) The phrase *לפני יהוה*, and its cognates (see D.i.45, vi.25, &c.), do not occur in Jeremiah.

Ans. See Jer. xxxvi.7,9, 1K.ii.45, viii.59,65, 2K.xxiii.3.

(v) The expressions 'to be afraid of the face of,' and others connected with such verbs as to 'fear' and to 'make to fear' (See D.i.17, xviii.22, &c.) do not occur in Jeremiah, but with like ideas other words are used.

Ans. See Jer.i.8, x.5, xxii.25, xxxix.17, xl.9, xli.18, xlii.11,16, 2K.xxv.24,26.

(vi) The passages in Deuteronomy which refer to the Exodus and the wonders which accompanied it are so many and conspicuous as to be a distinct trait of the book (!)

Ans. Of course they are, when Moses is supposed to be referring throughout to the Exodus. What has this to do with Jeremiah's authorship?

Yet it is noticeable that Jeremiah does very frequently refer to the Exodus with its 'signs and wonders' in his prophecies and elsewhere, ii.2,6, vii.22,25, xi.4,7, xvi.14, xxiii.7, xxxi.2,32, xxxii.20,21, xxxiv.13, 1K.viii.9,16,21,51,53, ix.9, 2K.xvii.7,36, xxi.15.

(vii) The later prophet handles the same subject *once* (!) in a similar strain, but then with very different phraseology, *comp.* D.iv.34, xi.2,3, xvii.19 (*sic*, but ?16), xxvi.8, &c., with Jer.xxxii.20,21.

Ans. See the last Answer for the reply to the word 'once' in the above statement. I really know not what Mr. Espin means when he speaks of a 'very different phraseology' in Jer.xxxii.21, D.iv.34: for we find in *both* passages the expressions 'signs and wonders,' 'mighty hand,' 'stretched-out arm,' 'great terror'! *comp.* also 'stretched-out hand and mighty arm,' Jer.xxi.5, 'great power and stretched-out arm,' xxvii.5, xxxii.17, 'signs and wonders,' xxxii.20, and with D.iv.20, ix.26,29, compare—

'in the day that I brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the furnace of iron,' Jer.xi.4—

'for Thy people and Thine inheritance are they whom Thou broughtest forth out of Egypt, out of the midst of the furnace of iron,' 1K.viii.51.

(viii) The phrases characteristic of Deuteronomy respecting the unity of the Sanctuary are only found in *one or two* passages of the prophet, where he is evidently alluding to Deuteronomy (*comp.* D.xii.5,14,18, &c., xiv.23,24,25, xv.20, &c. with Jer.vii.7,12 (!)

Ans. See Jer.iii.17, vii.10,11,12,14,30, xxv.29, xxxii.34, xxxiv.15, 1K.iii.2, v.3,5, viii.16–20,29,43,44,48, ix.3,7, xi.36, xiv.21, 2K.xxi.4,7, xxii.27.

Thus every one of the above eight instances breaks down

completely on closer examination. Mr.ESPIN, surely, cannot have given himself the trouble to verify any single one of them.

20. But Mr.ESPIN proceeds as follows :—

Similar results appear from comparing the two books in respect of grammatical peculiarities, such as inflexions, syntax, &c.

(i) The pronoun of the 3rd person is in Deuteronomy *almost always* הם, in Jeremiah הֵמָּה.

Ans. הֵמָּה occurs 5 times in D.i.39, xi.30, xiv.7, xxxii.20,28, and הם 17 times, הם occurs 16 times ('*almost always*'!) in Jer., and הֵמָּה 52 times.

(ii) In Deuteronomy we have repeatedly בעַת הַהוּא, in Jeremiah always הָיָה בַעַת.

Ans. This is only the archaism already considered: in writing this book Jeremiah evidently affected the archaic, in order that his style might conform more closely to that of the O.S.

(iii) In Jeremiah the dative with the preposition לְ stands several times instead of the accusative with אֶת, in Deuteronomy never.

In Jeremiah the use of the infinitive absolute followed by the finite verb with the conjunction וְ is very frequent and characteristic; in Deuteronomy it is very rare.

And the same infinitive, which is commonly used by Jeremiah in other peculiar turns of expression (vii.13,25, xi.7, xii.7, &c.), is not found at all so used in Deuteronomy.

The Aramaisms in Jeremiah are very numerous and of various kinds; Aramaic words, Aramaic meanings of words, Aramaic inflexions, terminations, constructions, &c. These, as all writers on Jeremiah, who discuss the original text, admit, indicate that the Hebrew of his day was no longer pure and sound. Such peculiarities are altogether wanting in Deuteronomy, with the exception of the Aramaisms alleged in xxxii,xxxiii. These are, however, not many in number, nor are they all unquestionable; they are too to be explained on quite a different principle from that which applies to the many and manifest Aramaisms of Jeremiah. p.796.

Ans. The above phenomena are explained at once by the consideration that Deuteronomy was composed during the first five years of Jeremiah's prophetic activity, in the freshness of youth, Jer.i.6. and that the earliest of his prophecies were written down eighteen years afterwards, xxxvi.1, and he laboured altogether for at least 42 years, xxxix-xliv, during which time, of course, a considerable change must have passed over his style, so that his later writings may be expected to exhibit frequently forms and expressions, which he never used at all in his earlier years, or used less freely, and to omit others which he once employed, and especially to manifest a stronger mixture of Aramaisms.

21. And this is all which Mr.ESPIN produces from KÆNIG, 'a few selected by way of example from his copious lists,' p.796, but (it may be supposed) the most important and which he himself regards as most decisive, and on which he bases his assertion that KÆNIG's work 'has never been and cannot be answered.' Considering the numerous and gross inaccuracies in the statements of (19), it is plain (as I have said) that Mr. ESPIN cannot have examined carefully KÆNIG's data for himself: he must have simply copied them down, assuming their correctness. But the labour, which I have had to spend in exposing their fallacious character, will not have been in vain if the 'copious lists' of KÆNIG shall no longer, by a mere display of unquestionable industry, impose even upon scholars as a complete demonstration, so that further 'lengthened argument on this point is needless.' Whatever 'grammatical peculiarities' and 'Aramaisms' may really be found in the prophecies of Jeremiah, they have not prevented Bp.Lord HERVEY from pronouncing that—

the Jewish tradition, which ascribes the Books of Kings to *Jeremiah*, is borne out by the strongest internal evidence, in addition to that of the language (12):—

whereas GRAF, one of the most eminent of modern critics, assigns the authorship of these same Books of Kings to the *Deuteronomist*, *Gesch. Büch.* p.104, observing in a note, p.110—

For the present I let alone the question whether the Deuteronomist is identical with the prophet Jeremiah, who would then be the writer of Deuteronomy.

22. The fact is that, some years ago, when I was engaged upon the Book of Deuteronomy, Mr.THOMASSCOTT of Ramsgate, whose accuracy of research I have so often tested, and to whom I am indebted for the careful revision of the references in Part II.—Part VII. of my work on the Pentateuch, most kindly undertook for me the laborious task, which Mr.ESPIN has avoided, of examining thoroughly the work of KÆNIG, and I

have his MSS. now before me. By these I was satisfied that the work in question is of very little value for the purpose for which Mr. ESPIN has appealed to it so confidently, not only because of the numerous inaccurate statements by which it is disfigured, of which some glaring instances are given above (19),* but because his whole system is fallacious. He assumes that in a work such as Deuteronomy, written by Jeremiah (as is supposed) when he was quite a young man, precisely the same phraseology must be found as in his prophecies, the earliest of which were committed to writing from dictation 18 years after the 'Finding of the Book' in the Temple, and

* I append a few more instances of these inaccuracies.

(i) K. says that *false gods* are designated by שׂוּא, Jer.ii.30, iv.30, vi.29, xviii.15, xlv.11—not in D.

But the statement is only true of Jer.xviii.15: in D.v.11=E.xx.7 (D.) שׂוּא is used exactly as in Jer.ii.30, &c.

(ii) K. says that for שָׂכַר, 'hire,' D.xv.18, xxiv.15, Jeremiah uses פָּעַל, xxii.13, xxv.14, l.29.

But Jer. has שָׂכַר, xxxi.16, and D. has פָּעַל, xxxii.4, xxxiii.11.

(iii) K. says that 'the extraordinarily frequent פָּלָא, Jer.vi.13,13, פָּלָם, v.28, &c. or with other pronouns, is not found in D.

But see D.i.22, v.3, xxix.10 (9).

(iv) K. says that these are foreign to D., שׁוֹמֵעַ לֵב, Jer.xii.11, but see D.xi.18 (לִקְבֹּה) מֵאִפְסֵי אֶרֶץ—Jer.xvi.19, but see D.xxxiii.17—עֹזֵב בְּרִית, Jer.xxii.9, but see D.xxix.25 (24), comp. xxxi.16—חָלָל, 'profane,' Jer.xvi.18, xxxiv.16, but see D.xx.6, xxviii.30.

(v) K. says that Jeremiah has אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם, xix.4, xxiv.10, l.7, whereas the Pent. and Joshua have throughout אֲבוֹתָם.

But so has Jer.vii.26, xvi.15, xxx.3, xxxii.22.

(vi) K. says that in Jer.xv.14 the expression is בְּנִלָּל, 'far more current with the prophet than with D.'

But it occurs *thrice* in D., i.37, xv.10, xviii.12, only *twice* in Jer.xi.17, xv.4.

(vii) K. says that the relative is omitted in Jeremiah, xiv.8,14,18, xxii.18, xxxiii.9,29, &c., 'as is never the case in D.'

But see D.xxii.17.

(viii) K. says that these are foreign to Jeremiah, נָנָה, D.i.42, xxviii.7,25, but see Jer.xiii.16—רָגַז, D.ii.25, but see Jer.xxxiii.9, l.34—חֹל, D.ii.25, but see Jer.iv.19, v.3,22, xxiii.19, xxx.23, li.29.

And in one place Mr. SCOTT notes, 'The errors and misstatements in the whole of this section are great.'

which extend over nearly 20 years more (20.iii.*Ans.*); and accordingly he gives 'copious lists' of words and phrases which are found in Deuteronomy, and are not found in the prophecies, and *vice versâ*, though often occurring only once in either, as proofs that there can be no identity of authorship—as if such differences were not certain to appear under the circumstances,* and especially as to the Aramaisms which characterise the prophecies, written at a time when Chaldee influences must have been much more strongly felt in Jerusalem than in the days of his youth. On the other hand, the very marked resemblance in style between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy is an admitted fact (11), and needs not to be further demonstrated. And this is of such a kind, pervading the prophecies and the Books of Kings also, that it cannot be accounted for by Jeremiah's close study of Deuteronomy (13). It is plain that the phraseology in question is his own, and flows naturally from his pen, as that to which he was from his youth accustomed.

23. Although it is not a matter of vital importance in the criticism of the Pentateuch whether the Deuteronomist was actually Jeremiah or *some other prophet of Josiah's age*, yet, as it appears to me that the evidence points irresistibly to Jeremiah, and the question is one of considerable interest, and may help to throw light upon the history of Jeremiah's times and his conflict with the prophets and priests of that age, I will here sum up briefly the chief points of that evidence, referring to my work on the Pentateuch for further information on different portions of it.

(i) It is admitted that there is a *very strong resemblance* between the style of Jeremiah and that of Deuteronomy.

* Thus D. uses for 'heart' לב 4 times and לבב 46 times; whereas Jer. has לב 58 times and לבב 8 times, showing a change of style in his later years.

But K.'s argument would tend to prove that *Moses*, at all events, could not have written Deuteronomy, since in the rest of the Pentateuch we find לב 62 times and לבב 8 times.

(ii) The attempts of KÆNIG to prove *essential difference* between them, as represented by a selection of his strongest arguments, have been shown to be a failure.

(iii) Since Jeremiah's prophecies were none of them written till the 23rd year of his activity, this resemblance might be explained by supposing Jeremiah to have so devoutly studied Deuteronomy after its discovery in the Temple, as to have become imbued with its very thoughts and expressions, but for the fact that he never once mentions the 'Book of the Law' or the 'Book of the Covenant,' nor even alludes to it, except in one single passage.

(iv) Very eminent critics ascribe the composition of Deuteronomy to the age of Josiah (GRAF, KUENEN, KALISCH); and there is no other known prophet of that age to whom, both from its style and contents, it could be assigned, except Jeremiah; while it is most unlikely that a writer, who in so late an age could compose such a book as Deuteronomy, would have been utterly undistinguished in the epoch in which he lived, and have left no other signs of his activity behind him.

(v) The probable relationship of Jeremiah to Hilkiab and Huldah, as father and aunt,—the fact that the deputies sent by Josiah did not consult Jeremiah, then in full activity as a prophet—and the circumstance that no allusion is made in all Jeremiah's prophecies to so remarkable an event as the 'Finding of the Book'—all confirm the suspicion that he was personally concerned in that discovery.

(vi) The Books of Kings are generally ascribed to Jeremiah. But they contain throughout passages, *e.g.* the prophetic address of Huldah 1K.ii.3,4, viii.22–61, and 2K.xvii, which are identical in style with Deuteronomy, so that Jeremiah and the Deuteronomist must be one and the same.

In short, if Deuteronomy was written in the early part of Josiah's reign, it seems almost certain from the above arguments that it must be ascribed to the hand of JEREMIAH. Ezekiel too was to all appearance the writer of L.xviii–xx, xxvi; and it is probable that he only followed the example of his contemporary in writing the Book of Deuteronomy.

24. We return now to Mr. ESPIN's Introduction.

Various texts from the book have been adduced as proofs that it was not composed by the authors of the books preceding it. These contain deviations from the earlier narrative, additions to it, or assumed inconsistencies with it, and have been alleged both from the legislative and historical contents of the book. No doubt, some of these are important, and require careful consideration and explanation. *p.*796.

We shall see hereafter in what way these difficulties are

explained. In the present Mr.ESPIN makes ‘one or two general remarks upon the whole list.’

Be it noted in the first place that there is nothing in Deuteronomy which *positively contradicts* anything in the earlier books. This is now generally admitted; and it is an important admission, for *it can be demonstrated that the author of Deuteronomy had the preceding books before him with their contents as we now have them, and knew them well.* How, then, is it credible that the Deuteronomist was a late writer, who composed his work centuries after the rest of the Pentateuch was written, and passed it off as a Mosaic document? For such a *forgery* would certainly have anxiously removed all such seeming discrepancies as those in question. . . . The very occurrence, then, of the phenomena in question, arising on a comparison of Deuteronomy with Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, striking as those phenomena are, and just because they are striking, is a *prima facie* token of authenticity. No one but the original legislator and historian would deal with his subject in this free and independent spirit. p.796.

What shadow of ground is there for charging the noble Deuteronomist with ‘forgery’? The only real ‘forgers’ in the Pentateuch are the narrow-minded priestly writers of the L.L., who have foisted in, as Divine commands, ‘Jehovah spake unto Moses (and Aaron),’ ordinances which tended greatly to their own exaltation and aggrandisement, above the Laity and even above the Levites. What did such writers care about ‘removing all such seeming discrepancies,’ when they introduced ‘Aaron and his sons the priests,’ and said to the Levites, who were all ‘priests’ in the O.S. and D., ‘Seek ye the priesthood also?’ N.xvi.10?

The assertion of Mr.ESPIN that ‘it can be demonstrated &c.,’ is contradicted by the facts set forth below and more fully in Part VI. of my work on the Pentateuch. But we observe that here Mr.ESPIN speaks of ‘the original *legislator* and historian,’ *i.e.* Moses, ‘dealing in a free and independent spirit with his subject,’ *i.e.* with what are represented as being *the commandments of Jehovah*!

25. Mr.ESPIN, however, says in a note :—

There are repeated references, expressed or implied, to laws already given, *comp.* D.xviii.2 with N.xviii.20: D.xxiv with L.xiii,xiv: D.xiv.3–20 with L.xi:

D.xvi with E.xxxiv.22, L.xxiii.15,16,34,39: D.xxii.9-11 with L,xix.19, &c. The language in which the same transactions are described is often borrowed from the earlier books or evidently modelled after them; *comp.* D.ix.12 with E.xxxii.7,8: D.vii.20 with E.xxiii.28: D.vii.22 with E.xxiii.29,30. In fact, as DAVIDSON allows, 'almost every chapter presents some indication, however slight, that written documents' (*i.e.* the four preceding books) 'were employed by him.' A very numerous and absolutely convincing list of references in Deuteronomy to the preceding books and citations from them is given by KÆNIG. *p.*796.

No doubt, the Deuteronomist had, as DAVIDSON says, 'written documents,' *i.e.* those of the O.S., before him; but there is no sign that he had before him 'the four preceding books,' 'with their contents as we now have them, and knew them well.' We have seen already how little value can be attached to quotations from Mr.ESPIN's great authority, KÆNIG; and, instead of examining his 'very numerous and absolutely convincing list of references in Deuteronomy to the preceding books and citations from them,' it will suffice to consider those above given by Mr.ESPIN, which no doubt he regards as most important.

(i) D.xviii.2 says that 'the *Levites*, the *whole tribe of Levi*,' v.1, 'Shall have no inheritance with their brethren; Jehovah is their inheritance, as He hath said unto them;' in other words, *the whole body of Levites* were to 'eat the fire-offerings of Jehovah and His inheritance.' v.1.

But N.xviii.20 restricts this to the *priests*, making Jehovah say to Aaron, 'I am thy part and thine inheritance among the children of Israel;' that is to say, the priests alone were to have Jehovah's inheritance, *viz.* the appointed portions of the sacrifices, firstlings, and firstfruits, v.8-19, whereas the Levites are to have 'all the (vegetable) tithes in Israel for an inheritance,' v.21,24; *comp.* N.xxxi.28,29, with v.30.

It is clear that N.xviii.20 must belong to a later age than D.xviii.2.

(ii) D.xxiv (*sic*)—I suppose Mr.ESPIN means xxiv.8,9—says, 'Take heed in the plague of leprosy to observe well to do according to all which the priests the Levites shall instruct you; as I have commanded them, ye shall observe to do. Remember what Jehovah thy Elohim did to Miriam in the way at your coming out of Egypt.'

This is the only plausible instance which can be adduced out of the whole of Deuteronomy in support of Mr.ESPIN's statement; since it is very natural at first sight to suppose that these words refer to the laws about leprosy in L.xiii. xiv. Yet even KÆIL does not maintain this. No doubt, in all times the priests gave

directions in cases of leprosy, which were gradually developed into the more complete system in L.xiii, xiv.

The Deuteronomist enjoins implicit obedience to the priests, as having Divine authority in such matters; and, by referring expressly to the story of Miriam in the O.S., he points to the fact of her being shut out of the Camp seven days, N.xii.14,15, as an example for all future times, that persons suspected of leprosy should be so secluded (VI.387).

(iii) D.xiv.3-20 is obviously of *earlier* date than L.xi, since the hasty generalisation in D.xiv.19, which forbids the eating of 'every swarming-thing which fieth,' is corrected by the later law, L.xi.21,22, which permits the use of locusts for food.

(iv) D.xvi may very well refer to E.xxxiv.22, since this latter passage also belongs to D. (VI.248).

But L.xiii is of later date than D.xvi, as appears from the fact that it contains directions for observing the 'Feast of Trumpets' and 'Day of Atonement,' of which no mention whatever is made in Deuteronomy, and contains precise definitions on some points which are left undetermined in D.xvi (VI.430-4).

(v) D.xxii.9-11 and L.xix.19 agree verbally in this respect, that the phrases 'thou shalt not sow with two kinds' and 'mixed-cloth' occur in both passages, while each contains injunctions omitted by the other.

It is at least as probable that the writer of L.xix.19 had D.xxii.9-11 in view, as the converse.

(vi) D.ix.12 refers, no doubt, to E.xxxii.7,8; but v.7-14 is an interpolation by the Deuteronomist himself (VI.44).

(vii) D.vii.20,22, agrees in phraseology with E.xxiii.28-30, which belongs also to D. (VI.229).

Thus the only plausible instance produced in support of Mr. ESPIN's view is D.xxiv.8,9, where even so orthodox a commentator as KEIL does not suppose a reference to L.xiii,xiv.

26. Mr.ESPIN then proceeds to consider the question of the different directions about *tithes* in D.xiv and N.xviii, which I have fully discussed in (VI.354-6).

These regulations in Deuteronomy undoubtedly are altogether different from those of the preceding books upon the subject; but they are neither inconsistent with them, nor do they supersede them. They refer one and all not to the general and *first* tithe of *all produce both animal and vegetable*, but to the *second* and additional tithe taken on the increase of the field only. This latter was not for the maintenance of the priests and Levites, but for the celebration of the sacred feasts. . . . The priests and Levites were indeed to be invited to partake, as in each third year were the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow. . . . There appears

to be no express mention in Deuteronomy of the *first* tithe, out of which the priests and Levites were to be supported. This, as of familiar and established, we might say primæval, obligation, G.xiv.20, xxviii.22, is taken for granted on all hands. Yet the reason for which the first tithe was appointed to God by the Levites is mentioned in x.9, xviii.1,2. And no doubt that Levitical tithe was understood to be meant by the repeated declaration respecting Levi, that 'the Lord is his inheritance;' for the tithe is emphatically the Lord's, L.xxvii.30, &c., N.xviii.20,21, Mal.iii.8. p.797.

And he adds in a note—

Some commentators insist that one and the same tithe must be meant throughout Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy (so KNOBEL, EWALD, DAVIDSON, COLENSO, &c.) But how could the Deuteronomist expect his work to be received as Mosaic whilst allowing such a glaring inconsistency to remain between his own precepts and those of the earlier legislation?

27. It is obvious that the reply to the last question is given at once by saying that the Deuteronomist knew of no 'earlier legislation' on the subject of tithes. It is rather extravagant to suppose that D., who lays down plainly the income of the Levites, xviii.1-4, should never have alluded anywhere to the 'tithes of all produce both animal and vegetable,' which must have formed so large a part of it. And, if 'the priests and Levites were to be supported out of the first tithes,' why should they be invited to partake of the 'second tithes,' together with all the destitute of the neighbourhood, 'the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow,' and not only of the tithes, but of the 'firstlings' and 'firstfruits' also, xii.17,18, which by N.xviii. 13-18 belonged exclusively to the priests? Were there 'second' firstlings and firstfruits as well as tithes?

The fact is plainly that in the Deuteronomist's time the Levites were generally poor and needy, as is evidenced by the frequent injunction not to 'forsake' them, not to forget to invite them to share the sacrificial feasts with the offerer and his family, whether at the Temple or at home, together with other indigent persons, xii.12,18,19, xiv.27,29, xvi.11,14, xxvi. 11,12,13. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the 'Le-

vitical tithe' prescribed in N.xviii.21,24, was meant to include tithe of *animal* produce, as appears from the language in v.27,30, 'as the corn (increase) of the floor and as the fulness (increase) of the press,' *comp.* Neh.x.37, 'and the tithes of our ground unto the Levites,' xiii.5,12, 'the tithes of corn, new-wine, and oil, which was commanded for the Levites.' In short, it is the same tithe exactly as in D.xii.17, xiv.23: and L.xxvii.32, which speaks of 'tithes of sheep and cattle,' as being 'holy unto Jehovah,' *i.e.* probably the perquisite of the *priests*, v.21, not the Levites, *comp.* 2Ch.xxxi.6, may be a still later insertion of the L.L. (VI.445), showing that the demands of the clergy were still advancing.

28. Mr.ESPIN then considers the questions of the priests being 'carefully distinguished from the Levites in the three middle books of the Pentateuch,' endowed with far higher prerogatives and privileges, and uniformly called the 'sons of Aaron,' whereas in Deuteronomy they are called the 'sons of Levi' and the whole body of the Levites are reckoned as priests.

It is further inferred that this important elevation of the status of the Levite . . . can only have taken place gradually and in a long series of years, and that consequently *Deuteronomy was written very much later than the date which belongs to Exodus and the two following books.* 'It is,' it has been said, 'impossible to believe that any writer should have so suddenly changed his form of expression in such a case as this, in the very short interval of a few days or weeks at most, between the last act recorded in the Book of Numbers and the first in Deuteronomy.' p.798.

I recognise my own language in the above quotation (III. 542). But I demur altogether to the conclusion drawn by Mr. ESPIN that 'consequently Deuteronomy was written very much later than the date which belongs to Exodus, &c.' This conclusion may have been drawn by others, but not (as far as I remember) anywhere by myself: only in (II.496) I have said that the phenomeuon observed in Deuteronomy 'indicates the

state of things, with regard to the priests and Levites, which existed in the *later* days in which the Book of Deuteronomy was written'—*i.e.* 'later,' not with reference to the age in which the 'three middle books of the Pentateuch' were actually composed, but with reference to the (supposed) age of Moses and the history of the people of Israel. And I called attention to the fact that, as in Deuteronomy the priests are always called 'Levites' or 'sons of Levi,' so they are in Jer.xxxiii.18,21,22, Ez.xliii.19, xliv.15, xlviii.13, Mal.iii.3, *comp.* Mal.ii.4,8 ; whereas not one of the prophets calls them 'sons of Aaron,' and in 1K.xii.31 Jeroboam is censured—not because he made priests which were not of the seed of *Aaron*, but—because he made priests 'which were not of the seed of *Levi*,' while Ezekiel distinguishes the *faithful* priests from the other 'sons of Levi' by the title 'sons of Zadok,' xl.46, xliii.19, xliv.15, xlviii.11, apparently knowing nothing about 'sons of Aaron.'

29. But I am aware that I have here and there in the former Parts of my work on the Pentateuch *assumed* the earlier existence (perhaps in the age of Solomon) of the three middle books as possible and probable, not having then examined them thoroughly as in Part VI. I now, of course, maintain (with a slight modification) the view to which Mr.ESPIN draws attention in a note, apparently as being in opposition to the conclusion above stated.

It is worth while to note that the alleged identification of priests and Levites in Deuteronomy is brought forward by GEORGE as a proof that Deuteronomy is much older than [the L.L., *i.e.* by far the greater portion of] the middle books of the Pentateuch, the division of the sacred caste into priests and Levites, which is recognised in Exodus and Numbers, being assumed to be a later development. *p.*798.

30. And now let us see Mr.ESPIN's reply to the above argument.

In reply it is to be noted, in the first place, that the description of the priests as the 'sons of Aaron' does not occur in the latter part of Numbers at all, but only

in the first fourteen chapters. Now N.i-xiv belong to the second year of the Exodus, Deuteronomy to the fortieth. Consequently, there is, according to the narrative of these two books themselves, not a very short interval, but a space of more than 38 years in which this change of phraseology might have obtained currency. *p.*798.

It is convenient for Mr.ESPIN's argument that the Book of Joshua is not comprised in this First Volume of the Commentary, since the phrase 'sons of Aaron,' applied to the priests, occurs again in the Later Legislation of that book, xxi.4,10,13, 19, while, on the other hand, the phrase 'Levites' or 'sons of Levi' is applied to the *priests* in the O.S. and in the Deuteronomistic portion of it, iii.3, viii.33, xviii.7.

31. And, lest the above reasoning should not be thought sufficient, he adds :—

But in truth the change in question is readily explained without supposing that the priests were at all less generally styled 'sons of Aaron' at the time of the conquest of Canaan than they were at that of the Exodus. Moses in Deuteronomy is not prescribing the several functions and privileges of the various orders of clergy, as he has to do in the preceding books. He is addressing the people, and when he has occasion to mention the clergy, it is only in a general way, in reference broadly to their relation and duties towards the body of the nation. Hence he (as does also the writer of the Book of Joshua, iii.3, viii.33) very naturally disregards for a time the difference of orders among the clergy, which was not to his purpose, and ascribes priestly and Levitical functions indifferently to the tribe of Levi—to which, as the priests were of course Levites, these functions really belonged. *p.*798.

But in x.8, xvii.9,18, xxi.5, xxiv.8, xxxi.9, the writer is expressly referring to exclusively priestly functions ; and, though on Mr.ESPIN's view, Moses might speak of 'the Levites' as discharging such duties, yet why should he have made a point of writing *always* 'the priests the sons of Levi,' xxi.5, xxxi.9, or 'the priests the Levites,' xvii.9,18, xxiv.8, neither of which phrases ever occurs in the 'three middle books,' when he might as easily have written 'the priests the sons of Aaron,' as they are constantly called in those books? It is plain that 'the discrepancies between Deuteronomy and the earlier books in

this particular' are not, as Mr.ESPIN asserts, 'superficial only,' p.798; but they indicate an essential difference between the views of the writers as to the relation between the 'priests' and the 'Levites,' whom the one identifies, and the other most shortly distinguishes.

32. Mr.ESPIN has said (24) that 'there is nothing in Deuteronomy which positively contradicts anything in the earlier books.' But from the above phenomena it will be seen that it is difficult to know what Mr.ESPIN would regard as a 'contradiction.' When we say that in Deuteronomy the priests are always called 'sons of Levi' or 'Levites,' whereas in the L.L. they are always called 'sons of Aaron,' and are sharply distinguished from 'Levites,' he says that the priests were 'sons of Levi' as well as 'sons of Aaron,' and therefore D. might properly speak of '*Levites* bearing the ark of the covenant,' xxxi.25, who are identified in v.9 with 'priests.' When, again, we say that in Deuteronomy the tithe of all vegetable produce or its money-value is ordered to be consumed in feasting by the offerer himself and his family and dependants, including the stranger, the orphan, and the widow, and 'not forsaking the Levite,' two years running at the Sanctuary and the third year at home, whereas in the L.L. the very same tithe is assigned wholly to the Levites, who are to give a tenth of it to the priests, he resorts at once to the notion of a *second* tithe for the festival tithe, and tells us that D. took for granted that the Levites' tithe would be paid, though he makes not the least allusion to it when laying down the income of the Levitical body in xviii.

33. But when at last we think that we can pin him to a definite fact, and produce a contradiction which we suppose cannot possibly be denied or evaded, viz. the fact that the '*firstlings*' are in Deuteronomy to be consumed in feasting by

the offerer and his family, 'and the Levite that is within thy gates—take heed that thou forsake not the Levite,' D.xii.17–19, whereas *these very same firstlings*—for there can be no 'second firstlings'—are in N.xviii.15–18 given wholly to the priests, Mr.ESPIN tell us that of course they were so given, and then the priests, having too much to eat, 'would naturally invite' the offerer and his family to partake of them (65): it is exactly the same whether the offerer invites the Levite or the Levite the offerer: 'the inconsistency is apparent only': there is no 'positive contradiction'!

Those, however, who are not satisfied by such transparent sophistries, by which the plain language of the Bible is wrested, and facts disguised or distorted, to support the traditionary system, may be referred to (3,5,59,60,65,68–70,72,96–99) below for instances where Deuteronomy contradicts the Later Legislation in the preceding books, as well as to (50,65,88), where Mr.ESPIN contradicts himself.

34. Mr.ESPIN then proceeds to say:—

No doubt, several of the enactments in Deuteronomy are not found in the preceding books. But these additions do not betray another and a later hand than that *which gave the original code*. They are one and all such as are supplementary or explanatory of earlier laws, and *might well be suggested by a short experience of the working of those laws*, or such as would have been premature or impracticable during the wandering in the wilderness, but became necessary when the people was about to settle down in Canaan. p.799.

I must leave for the notes on the Commentary below the consideration of the questions which arise as to whether those 'enactments in Deuteronomy,' which 'are not found in the preceding books,' are 'one and all such as are supplementary or explanatory of earlier laws,' and whether they betray 'a later hand' or, as we maintain, an *earlier*, than those. For the present it will suffice to notice the manner in which Mr.ESPIN here speaks of the hand of Moses as 'that which gave the original code,' and assumes that all these additions 'might

well be suggested by a short experience of the working of those laws,' showing that he has no idea of 'those laws' having been dictated originally by Unerring Wisdom, with express reference to their being carried out 'on their entry into settled homes in Canaan,' when, as Mr.ESPIN says—

a thorough discharge of the various obligations laid on them by the covenant would become imperative. *p.791.*

35. Finally, Mr.ESPIN makes the following admission:—

It is indeed possible that some or perhaps all of the archæological and topographical remarks which are interwoven in several places, *e.g.* ii.10–12, 20–23, iii.9, are insertions made by a later reviser, perhaps a much later reviser, after the book was complete. . . . And it seems hardly likely that Moses would himself digress into such topics in the course of an address to the people. . . . Hence it is on the whole not unlikely that the passages in question were . . . glosses added by Ezra, who would certainly regard himself as fully authorised thus to interpolate. But the question as to the Mosaic authorship of the book is not affected by any conclusion which may be formed about such isolated passages. *p.799.*

No doubt, 'archæological and topographical glosses' might have been 'added by Ezra,' without at all affecting the 'Mosaic authorship of the book.' But then the passages in question are written entirely in the style of D., and belong manifestly to the book itself; though certainly it 'seems hardly likely that Moses would himself digress into such topics in the course of an address to the people,' introducing—

archæological notices which obviously break the sense of the context. *p.808.*

36. And now Mr.ESPIN concludes as follows:—

On the whole, then, the assertions of some (!) modern critics as to the *spuriousness* of Deuteronomy, though very positive, appear when sifted to rest upon most insufficient arguments. The alleged anachronisms, discrepancies, and difficulties admit for the most part of easy and complete explanation; and no serious attempt has ever been made by these critics to meet the overwhelming (!) presumption drawn from the unanimous and unwavering testimony of the ancient Jewish Church and nation that Moses is the author of this book. *p.799.*

As if such 'testimony,' under the circumstances of the case, though in Mr.ESPIN's estimation—

enough of itself to outweigh many difficulties, even were they insoluble, *p.799—*

when contradicted utterly by the internal evidence, were really deserving a moment's consideration, any more than similar testimony to the fact that the Book of Ecclesiastes was written by Solomon or the Book of Esther by Mordecai. Not 'some modern critics' but, as GRAF says very justly, 'all who do not simply take up a position of antagonism against these results altogether,' admit 'the composition of Deuteronomy in the age of Josiah.' And those who (like myself) agree fully with this conclusion, would be sinning against 'the Truth' itself, if they allowed their convictions to be stifled and suppressed under the weight of Mr. ESPIN's closing argument, with which apparently he would stop the mouth of all gainsayers :—

To assert that He, who is 'the Truth,' believed Deuteronomy to be the work of Moses, and quoted it expressly as such, though it was, in fact, a *forgery* introduced into the world seven or eight centuries after the Exodus, is in effect, even though not in intention, to impeach the perfection and sinlessness of His nature, and seems thus to gainsay the first principles of Christianity. p.800.

THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY.

REV. T. E. ESPIN, B.D.

THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY.

Chap. i.

1. v.1. *These be the words.*] The clause is retrospective, as the geographical data which follow indicate, and serves to connect Deuteronomy with the preceding book. The Hebrew pronoun (*elleh*, these), when used without the copulative *and*, generally refers exclusively to what follows. But here it serves, as in L.xxvi.46, and perhaps D.xxix.1, to point a clause conclusive of the preceding, and introductory to the succeeding, context. The sense of the passage might be given thus: 'The discourses of Moses to the people up to the eleventh month of the fortieth year (v.3) have now been recorded.' . . . The Proper Names which follow seem to belong to places where 'words' of remarkable importance were spoken. p.801.

over-against the Red Sea] render *over-against Suph* . . . 'Suph' is most probably the pass *es-Sufah*, near Ain-el-Weibeh, described by Robinson. p.802.

Ans. Since N.xxxvi.13 brings to an end the Book of Numbers with 'These are the commandments and the judgments which the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses unto the children of Israel in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho,' it would be strange that there should immediately follow another very similar statement like the above. But there is less difficulty in supposing that the Deuteronomist intended by these words to close up the matter already introduced by the O.S., and ending with N.xxxii.42. In that case the names of places are probably meant to define that part of the wilderness of Paran 'between Paran and Tophel and Laban and Hazeroth and Dizahab,' which was the supposed scene of their wanderings after they left Sinai until they came to Kadesh-Barnea; *comp.* 'Hazeroth,' N.xii.16, and note that the language of D.i.1 corresponds closely with that of N.xiv.39.

'These are the words which Moses spake unto all Israel, D.i.1; *comp.* 'And Moses spake these words unto all the children of Israel,' N.xiv.39—

as if the writer had the story of the rebellion at Kadesh-Barnea in N.xiv. directly before his mind's eye.

This seems to be confirmed by the mention of 'Suph,' if it be the same as 'the pass *es-Sufah* described by Robinson near *Ain-el-Weibeh*,' which place is identified by Robinson—and by Mr. ESPIN, p.698—with 'Kadesh,' the scene of the rebellion in N.xiv, *i.e.* Kadesh-Barnea. Moreover, the statement in v.2, 'eleven days from Horeb by the way of Mount Seir unto Kadesh-Barnea,' points in the same direction; for 'Mount Seir' here is not the chain along the eastern side of the Arabah, but the Seir near Hormah, KEIL, II.p.392, where the Amorites destroyed the self-confident Israelites, Di.44, as recorded in N.xiv.40-45; and the words seem to imply that 'in eleven days' after leaving Horeb they might have reached the southern border of Canaan and entered at once into the possession of their inheritance, but for the murmuring in N.xi which detained them a month, v.20, and that of Miriam and Aaron, N.xii, which kept them a week longer, v.15, and after that the great rebellion in N.xiv. which delayed them thirty-eight years, and is referred to presently in v.19-36. And so says Mr. ESPIN—

It was but eleven days' journey from the Mountain of the Covenant to the Promised Land; yet in the fortieth year the chosen people were still in the wilderness. p.802.

2. v.1. *on this side Jordan*] rather, *beyond Jordan*. . . . It was a standing designation for the district east of Jordan, and in times when Greek became commonly spoken in the country was exactly represented by the proper name *Peraen*. It was used quite irrespectively of the actual position of the speaker or writer (just as 'seawards' or 'from the sea' was used for 'west,' E.x.19), *had probably been settled by the usage of the Canaanites in very early times, and passed from them to the patriarchs and the Jews generally*. . . . It is evident from a mere inspection of the passages in which the phrase is used that no inferences at all can be drawn from it as to whether the writer of Deuteronomy dwelt on the one side of Jordan or the other. p.801.

Ans. It is hardly credible that in the time of Moses, before he or the people had crossed the Jordan, the country east of it had acquired among them through the patriarchs from 'the usage of the Canaanites in very early times,' the 'standing designation' of 'beyond the Jordan.' Rather, the familiar use both of this phrase and of 'seaward' for 'west' points evidently to a writer either settled in Canaan, or at least living after the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan, when such phrases were commonly in use.

Mr. ESPIN, however, admits that 'seaward' in E.x.19 is used for 'west,' and supposes that Moses had acquired this idiom from the practice of the ancient Canaanites. Canon Cook, on the contrary, tries to evade the difficulty, observing—*west wind*] lit. 'a sea wind,' which in Palestine, of course, is from the west: but in this passage it may, and probably does, denote a wind blowing from the sea *on the north-west of Egypt*. p.288.

3. v.9-15. The appointment of the 'captains,' *comp.* E.xviii.21, &c., must not be confounded with that of the 'elders' in N.xi.16, &c. The former would number 78,600, the latter were 70 only. The time and place, and indeed the transactions themselves, were quite different. The only common point between the two lies in the complaint of Moses, v.12, which bears some verbal resemblance to N.xi.14,17. But, as in both cases the grievance Moses had was of the same kind, there is no reason why he should not express it in the like terms.

It has been observed that in Exodus the appointment of the captains is described as made *before the giving of the Law at Sinai*; here it seems to be placed *immediately before the people departed from Horeb, i.e. a year later*. . . . The order of the statement is here rather suggested by the purposes of the speaker than by the facts. But it is nevertheless quite correct in the main point, which is that this important arrangement for the good government of the people took place before they quitted Horeb to march direct to the Promised Land. . . .

Similar reasons explain the omission of Jethro's counsel, which led to the nomination of the captains. It was beside the present purpose to enter into such particulars. *pp.*803-4.

Ans. D. has here mixed up the account of the appointment of the 78,600 'captains' in E.xviii, *before they reached Horeb*, with the story of the appointment of the seventy 'elders' in N.xi, *when they had left Horeb* a year afterwards, *comp.* E.xix.1, N.x.11; though D. agrees with neither in respect of the time, but represents the appointment in question as having been made 'at that time,' *viz. 'immediately before the people departed from Horeb,'* v.6,7. This mingling of the language of both accounts appears plainly by comparing the following expressions:—

(i) 'And Moses chose men of force out of all Israel, and *appointed them heads over the people, captains of thousands, captains of hundreds, captains of fifties, and captains of tens,*' E.xviii.25;

Comp. 'And I took the heads of your tribes, men wise and well-known, and *appointed them heads over you, captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and captains of fifties, and captains of tens.*' D.i.15.

(ii) 'And let them judge the people at all times, and *every great matter they shall bring to thee, and every small matter they shall judge.*' E.xviii.22: 'And they judged the people at all times; *the hard matter they brought unto Moses, and every small matter they judged.*' v.26;

Comp. 'Hear between your brethren and judge righteously . . . and *the matter which shall be too hard for you bring-near unto me, and I will hear it.*' D.i.17.

(iii) 'and it shall be lightened from off thee, and *they shall bear with thee,*' E.xviii.22;

'Thou layest *the burden of all this people upon me*'—'*I am not able to bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy for me*'—'*they shall bear the burden of the people with thee, that thou bear it not by thyself.*' N.xi.11,14,17;

Comp. 'I am not able by myself to bear you . . . How shall I bear by myself your trouble and your burden and your strife?' D.i.9,12.

But the 'grievance' was not 'of the same kind in both cases:' since in E.xviii the burden of his ordinary duties is too great for him, though he patiently discharges them, v.13-18; whereas in N.xi.10-15 the people murmur for flesh, and he breaks out into impatient complaints.

Also in E.xviii.22 the 'heads' or 'captains' in v.21,25, are appointed expressly to be 'judges,' v.26; whereas in D.i.16,17, 'and I commanded your judges at that time, &c.,' the 'judges' are distinguished from the 'heads,' 'captains,' and 'officers,' of v.13,15.

And in E.xviii.18-24 Jethro suggests to Moses the appointment of these 'heads,' referring the matter to the judgment of Moses and the will of God; whereas in D.i.9,12, N.xi.11, it is Moses himself who complains to the people, and suggests to them the appointment of 'heads,' which they approve.

4. v.19. *that great and terrible wilderness.*] This language is by no means applicable to the whole peninsula of Sinai, even in its present deteriorated state. It is, however, quite such as men would employ after having passed with toil and suffering through the worst part of it, the southern half of the Arabah, N.xxi.4, and more especially when they had but recently rested from their marches in the plain of Shittim, the largest and richest oasis in the whole district. p.804.

Ans. This is a mere evasion. In ii.7, viii.2, xxix.5,6, 'Jehovah led thee *these forty years* in the wilderness, &c.,' where they could get no bread, or wine, or clothing, or shoe-leather, the writer certainly means the same wilderness as in viii.15,16, in which they had been wandering all along, under Jehovah's guidance, 'who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness, fiery serpents and scorpions and drought, where there was no water, who brought thee out water from the rock of flint, who fed thee with manna in the wilderness'—*comp.* D.i.31-33, ix.7, xi.5, Jer.ii.6. Of this the 'great and terrible wilderness' in D.i.19 formed a part, which they passed through—not in the last year, *at the very end of the wanderings*, as Mr. ESPIN says, but *immediately after leaving Horeb*.

'And we departed from Horeb, and went through all that great and terrible wilderness, which ye saw (by the way of=) *on the way to the Hill-country of the Amorites*, and we came to Kadesh-Barnea,'—

where Mr. ESPIN rightly explains the 'Hill-country of the Amorites' to be—the mountain district occupied by the Amorites, reaching into the Negeb, and part of the territory assigned to the tribe of Judah. p.803—

and Kadesh-Barnea is here for the first time named as the place in the 'wilderness of Paran,' from which the spies were sent, and where the great

rebellion took place, N.xiii,xiv, called 'Kadesh' simply in N.xiii.26, as in G.xvi.14, xx.1, and identified by Robinson with *Ain-el-Weibeh*, on the southern frontier of Judah, but distinct from 'Kadesh' near Mount Hor, in the 'wilderness of Zin' in N.xx.1, which is in all probability Petra: see (*Num.* 53), where this question is fully discussed.

5. v.22,23. *comp.* N.xiii.1,2. There is no real discrepancy between these passages. The plan of sending the spies originated with the people; and, as in itself a reasonable one, it approved itself to Moses, was submitted to God, and sanctioned by Him, and carried out under special Divine direction. p.804.

Ans. It is plain that, as before (3), D. does not adhere strictly to the statements of the O.S. In N.xiii.1 Moses receives an express 'command' from Jehovah to send the spies, not a word being said about its having originated with the people, been approved by Moses, and 'submitted to God,' and so finally 'sanctioned by Him.' On the other hand, D.i.23 says not a word about any Divine sanction or direction in the matter—'And the thing was good in mine eyes, and I took twelve men of you, &c.'

6. v.22,23. It is frivolous to object that the generation which had sinned thus was dead, and that Moses was addressing men who had had no concern in the events to which he is referring. That this fact was present to the speaker's mind is clear from v.34,35; nay, it was the very aim he had in view, to warn the present generation not to follow their fathers in their perversity, and so defraud themselves of the promised blessing, as their fathers had done. p.804.

Ans. The language used in this passage might certainly be explained as applying to the Hebrew people, and not to those actually present, 'who had had no concern in the events to which he is referring,' were it not plain that D. again and again, in the addresses which he puts into the mouth of Moses, loses sight of the circumstances under which he is supposed to be speaking to the people—*e.g.* in v.3, 'Jehovah made not this covenant with our fathers, but with us, even us, who are *all of us here alive this day*,' *comp.* iv.4, 'ye that did cleave unto Jehovah your God, are *all of you alive this day*'—as, no doubt, he has lost sight of it here, *comp.* v.26, 'ye came near unto me *all of you*,' whereas not one of the host of warriors at that time was now living, except Joshua and Caleb.

7. v.37,38. The sentence on Moses was not passed on the occasion of the rebellion at Kadesh [*i.e.* 'Kadesh-Barnea,' N.xiv], but at Meribah [*i.e.* 'Kadesh,' N.xx], some 37 years later. This, as having happened not many months previously, was well known to those whom he was addressing. The general tenor of the discourse has led to its being parenthetically mentioned here. . . . In stating the sentence of God upon the rebellious generation, the preacher naturally names the only exceptions to it. The name of Joshua leads on at once to his appointment

to the leadership of the people, now just about to take effect. . . . There is then no suppression of anything out of reverence for God's extraordinary messenger, nor any real inconsistency between this passage and N.xx.10, &c.—much less any proof that we have here another independent and wholly different narrative of the transactions at Meribah, p.805.

Ans. It is most unlikely that D., with all his neglect of chronological accuracy, should make Moses interrupt his story about what happened at *Kadesh-Barnea*, v.19–36, 39–46, by quoting in v.37,38 what had occurred to himself 'at Meribah, some 37 years later,' i.e. at *Kadesh* or *Meribah-Kadesh*, N.xx.2–13, when he was not punished 'for their sakes,' but for his own misbehaviour, as also was Aaron, who is not here noticed at all. There must surely have been (VI.328) in the O.S. of N.xiv some act of Moses recorded—e.g. some expression of utter weariness or desire to throw up his office, *comp.* that of Joshua in J.vii.7—which brought down on Moses the sentence here recorded, that he 'should not go in thither.' This must, of course, have been struck out of necessity when the narrative of the L.L. in N.xx 2–13 was inserted. Also the appointment of Joshua as his successor might very well have occurred in the O.S. at this very point of the wanderings, as seems to be here implied, D.i.37,38, since in that story—not 37 years—but a comparatively short time was supposed to elapse after the doom in N.xiv, while they stayed for a while at *Kadesh*, N.xx.1, and then marched towards the Red Sea and made the circuit of the land of Edom, v.22, xxi.4, &c., before they reached the plains of Moab, xxiii.1, and were ready to enter upon the conquest of Canaan, during which time Moses might be supposed to 'encourage' Joshua, D.i.38, and prepare him for his future duties.

We note, however, that Moses here mentions 'Caleb the son of Jephunneh,' *comp.* J.xv.13 (O.S.), as the only one of the twelve spies exempted from the doom passed upon that 'evil generation,' v.36, agreeing thus with the O.S. in N.xiii.30, xiv.24, and not with the L.L., which names both 'Caleb' and 'Joshua,' N.xiv.6,30,38, *comp.* J.xiv.6.

Chap. ii.

8. v.1–3. The people were at *Kadesh* in the second year of the Exodus, N xiii.26, and are again spoken of as being there at the close of the 38 years' wandering and in the 40th of the Exodus, N.xx.1. v.1 seems to refer in general terms to the long years of wandering, the details of which were not to Moses' present purpose. The command of v.2,3, relates to their journey from *Kadesh* to Mount Hor, N.xx.22, xxxiii.37, and directs their march round the south extremity of Mount Seir, so as to 'compass the land of Edom,' Ju.xi.18, N.xxi.4, and so northwards towards the Arnon, i.e. 'by the way of the wilderness of Moab,' v.8. p.807.

Ans. 'Kadesh' in N.xiii.26 means 'Kadesh-Barnea,' where the encampment in the wilderness of Paran is placed in D.i.19, ii.14, ix.23, which is quite distinct from 'Kadesh,' i.e. Petra, i.46, where they 'abode many days,' as in N.xx.1.

In the O.S. there were no 38 years' wanderings, but only the march from the Red Sea to Horeb, D.i.6, from Horeb to Kadesh-Barnea, i.19, thence to Kadesh, i.46, and then southwards along the western flank of Mount Seir towards the Red Sea, ii.1, and then again northwards, v.2,3, along the eastern flank of Mount Seir: so that v.1 does not 'refer in general terms to the long years of wanderings,' nor does v.2,3, 'relate to the journey from Kadesh to Mount Hor,' as indeed is plain at once from v.3, '*ye have compassed this mountain (Mount Seir) long enough; turn you northward.*'

9. v.4. From N.xx.18-20 it appears that the Edomites made formidable preparations to resist the passage of the Israelites through the midst of their land. They did not, however, and probably dared not, resist the passage of the host along their eastern frontier, which is, as compared with that towards the Arabah, open and defenceless.

v.5. *I have given Mount Seir unto Esau for a possession.*] Though the descendants of Esau were conquered by David and 'all they of Edom became David's servants,' 2S.viii.14, yet they were not dispossessed of their land, and in the reign of Jehoshaphat [his son Joram] they regained their independence. 2K.viii.20-22. p.807.

Ans. There is nothing at all corresponding to v.4-6 in the account of the O.S. N.xx.14-21; but the Edomites, instead of being afraid, as here, v.4, come out fiercely to fight with the Israelites, and refuse to allow them to enter their territory, v.21. But this bold front (according to Mr. ESPIN) was only put on when the Israelites wished to cross their *western* frontier; they were 'afraid' when they saw them pass along beside their 'comparatively open and defenceless' eastern frontier!

The fact is, that the passage before us was written in an age when Mount Seir had long been the acknowledged 'possession' of Esau, *comp.* Ez.xxv.8, xxxv, undisturbed at all events by Israel. But N.xx.14-21 was probably composed in the time of David, when the Edomites were known as fierce warriors, 1K.xi.15; though, in the view of David's conquests, the prediction, rather dissonant from the language of D.ii.5, could be put into the mouth of Balaam—

'Edom shall be a possession,
Yea, Seir shall be a possession, his enemies;
But Israel shall be gaining force.' N.xxiv.18.

See also a somewhat similar phenomenon in the case of the Moabites,

whose land Jehovah had given to them 'for a possession,' v.9, as they held it firmly in the age when this was written, Jer.xxvii.3, xl, Ez.xxv.8-11, but not at the time when N.xxiv.17 was composed, *comp.* 2S.viii.1,2: and so for the independence of 'Ammon,' v.19, in the Deuteronomist's time, see Jer.xxvii.3, xl.14, xlix.1-6, Ez.xxv.1-7.

10. v.8. *and when we passed-by from our brethren the children of Esau.*] These words imply the failure of the attempt made to pass directly through the territory of Edom, N.xx.20,21. p.807.

Ans. Clearly they imply nothing of the kind: they simply mean 'when we had got *beyond* them,' marching northward 'from the way of the Arabah from Elath and from Ezion-geber, we turned and passed by the way of the wilderness of Moab.'

11. v.10-12. The archaeological notices in these verses, which obviously break the sense of the context, have every appearance of being a gloss.

v.13. *Now rise up, said I, and get you over the brook Zered.*] The words 'said I' . . . not found in the Hebrew, should be dropped. The words 'rise up and get you over the brook Zered,' connect themselves with v.9, and form the conclusion of what God said to Moses. The intermediate v.10-12 must be regarded, if allowed to stand in the text, as parenthetical. p.808.

It is impossible not to see that v.13 closely belongs to v.9, and, when the two are read consecutively, it is difficult to escape the conviction that that was their original relation. p.810.

v.20-23. These verses, like v.10-12, are in all likelihood, an addition made by a later reviser. p.808.

They are properly marked in the A.V. as parenthetical; but it is certainly little after the manner of Moses to *break in upon the communications of God to him with parentheses*; and it seems somewhat unsuitable to regard these fragments of ancient history as portions of what God revealed. p.810.

Like reasons are adduced, v.20-23, for not molesting the Ammonites. But the reasons are antiquarian details, which could hardly be necessary for Moses and his contemporaries, but are exactly such as a later and learned historian would desire to put on record by way of confirming and illustrating the general assertion of v.9,19, that God had 'given their land to the children of Lot.'

It is evident, however, that the two sets of verses, if introduced long after the days of Moses, were not intended to be passed off as part of the original text. No attempt was made to interweave them closely into the context, or to accommodate the phraseology of them to the circumstances of the 40th year after the Exodus. They contain exactly such matter as a modern editor might have given in explanatory footnotes, but which a Jewish reviser, if duly authorised, would feel warranted in writing along with his text. Substantially, then, we may regard them as glosses, perhaps contributed by Ezra. p.811.

Ans. Manifestly the words in v.12, 'as Israel did unto the land of his

possession which Jehovah gave unto them,' cannot be understood merely of the trans-Jordanic lands, which had only been conquered $3\frac{1}{2}$ months previously, p.650, and had not yet been 'possessed,' N.xxxii.29-30, and which did not properly belong to the Promised Land of Israel's possession at all: and so says Mr.ESPIN—

The words 'as Israel did unto the land of his possession,' taken in their natural sense, refer to the conquest of *Canaan* as a past transaction. The explanations offered, *e.g.* that the passage is prophetic, that it refers to the territories of Sihon and Og only, &c. are not satisfactory. p.810.

They clearly imply a later writer, and, as Mr.ESPIN supposes, might be regarded as a 'gloss' which has crept into the text, but for the complete agreement of the language of these notices with the style of the *Deuteronomist*.

12. v.14. Before they passed the Zered the generation of the men of war, which came out of Egypt, had passed away. Thus was fulfilled the sentence of N.xiv.23, that 'none of these men should see the land which God swore unto their fathers.' p.808.

Ans. It is by no means certain that the O.S. intended *all* the men of that generation to perish in the wilderness: rather, xiv.22,23, denounces the doom only against all those who had 'tempted' and 'provoked' Jehovah. In this manner we may account for 'Joshua' not being named with Caleb among the faithful spies in the O.S. It is D. who in this passage (ii.14) first probably introduced into the story of the Exodus the idea of 'all the men of war' perishing during the 38 years' wandering, which term of years he has fixed very definitely in this prefatory address last written (VI.28), both here and in i.3, having already adopted it in the main address, viii.2,4, *comp.* xxix.5 (4), from the 'forty years' current in the popular talk, Am.ii.10, v.25^a, which had already come to apply the term of 'forty years,' commonly used for long periods, to the protracted, but undefined, period of the wanderings (VI.323).

13. v.23. It has been inferred from the mention of the Avites in J.xiii.3 that their conquest by the Caphtorim cannot have taken place till the days of the Judges at the earliest, and that the passage before us is consequently of later date than Moses. The passage has indeed the appearance of a note which has improperly found its way into the text. But it is unlikely that the Caphtorim, whenever their invasion may have been, extirpated the Avites utterly; and the character of the notice in J.xiii.3,4, suggests that the Avites were even then dependent on the Philistines (*i.e.* the Caphtorim), and consequently that the conquest had taken place long before. p.809.

Ans. The statement in D.ii.23 is so plain, 'destroyed them and dwelt in

their stead,' that it is clear that the Avim cannot be supposed to have existed after this as a people, as is certainly meant in J.xiii.3. No doubt, this is a later notice, but it comes from the pen of D., like the other archaeological notices in this chapter.

Chap. iii.

14. *v.4. all the region of Argob.*] The Hebrew word here rendered 'region' means literally *rope* or *cable*; and, though undoubtedly used elsewhere in a general topographical sense for *portion* or *district* (e.g. J.xvii.5), has a special propriety in reference to Argob, with which it is connected wherever that term is used, *v.4,13,14, 1K.iv.13*. The name Argob means 'stone-heap,' and is paraphrased by the Targums *Trachonitis* or 'the rough country.' . . . The Argob is described as an island of black basaltic rock, oval in form, measuring 60 miles by 20, rising abruptly to the height of from 20 to 30 feet from the surrounding plain of Bashan. Its borders are compared to a rugged shore-line; hence its description in the text as 'the girdle of the stony country,' would seem peculiarly appropriate. *p.812*.

Ans. There does not seem to be the slightest foundation for the above fanciful explanation; *comp.* D.xxxii.9, J.xvii.5,14, xix.9,29, 2S.viii.2, 1Ch.xvi.18 = Ps.cv.11, Ps.xvi.6, lxxviii.55, Ez.lxvii.13, Am.vii.17, Zeph.ii.5,6,7, Zech.ii.1, in all which the word in question is used either for measuring 'line' or for 'portion' or 'district' as though measured.

15. *v.5, all these cities were fenced with high walls, gates, and bars.*] The verses before us, far from reflecting, as some have fancied, the tone of one speaking as of events in a far distant past, represent the lively impressions made by the spectacle of a memorable victory won in a very remarkable territory. . . . This signal victory and its circumstances evidently impressed the people deeply at this time, and its memory, as the Psalms attest, lingered for ages after in the national mind. *p.813*.

Ans. No one doubts the existence of ruined cities, such as are described by Mr.PORTER and Mr.GRAHAM (quoted by Mr.ESPIN), in the Deuteronomist's time. But why should Moses go into these details, not forgetting to mention the bed, bier, or sarcophagus of Og, *v.11*, when addressing the very troops which had captured these cities, and killed Og himself, about three months previously, *p.650*? The Psalms in question, *cxxxv.11, cxxxvi.20*, prove nothing whatever, being both of very late date.

16. *v.9. which Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion and the Amorites call it Shenir.*] The Sidonian name of it might easily have become known to Moses through the constant traffic which had gone on from the most ancient times between Sidon and Egypt. Syria was repeatedly traversed in all directions by Egyptian armies from the accession of the 18th dynasty downwards. The transcription of Semitic words in the papyri of the 19th dynasty is remarkably complete. *p.813*.

Ans. Surely Moses can hardly have thought it necessary to give his people this little piece of archæological information in the midst of his address. Mr. ESPIN might have added this notice to his 'glosses perhaps contributed by Ezra' (11), as we ascribe them all to the later Deuteronomist.

17. v.11. *his bedstead was a bedstead of iron: is it not in Rabbah of the children of Ammon?* Modern travellers have discovered in the territories of Og sarcophagi, as well as many other articles, made of the black basalt of the country. Probably after the defeat and death of Og at Edrei, the remnant of his army fled into the territory of the friendly Ammonites, and carried with them the corpse of the giant king. It is not necessary to suppose from v.3, *comp.* N.xxi.35, that there were absolutely no survivors at all of Og's people. Rabbah was not captured by the Israelites till the time of David, 2S.xii.29; but it is not likely that this remarkable relic would remain at Rabbah unknown to them. p.814.

Ans. D.iii.3, N.xxi.35, both say that the Israelites smote Og and all his people 'until one left to him none remaining,' which seems to imply that 'there were absolutely no survivors.' But, supposing that there were, they must have had a sarcophagus already made for Og, and must have carried that off also,—

from 13 to 14 feet long, but of course considerably larger than the body of the man for whom it was designed, p. 814—

as there was no such 'black basalt' in the Ammonite territory. But how came the Israelites to hear of all this? Or, if they did, why should Moses quote this fact as a confirmation of the victory, which the very men he was addressing had only just won, p.650? And, if even this notice too was a gloss of a later age, yet why (as before observed) should Moses thus recount to them at full length the details of these victories over Sihon and Og, whose defeat was only three months old, or *the fact of their lands being given to the two-and-a-half tribes*, v.12-17, which (according to the story) was almost an affair of yesterday? For Mr. ESPIN elsewhere says—

We have thus a margin of at least *six weeks* left, during which occurred the seduction of Israel by the wiles of the Midianites and the consequent plague (N.xxv), the second numbering of the people in the plains of Moab (N.xxvi), and the war upon the Midianites (N.xxxi), p.650—

after all which comes the assignment of these lands in N.xxxii. If it be true that—

There is no weight in the allegation that Moses in D.iii.4-14 speaks of the conquest of Gilead and Bashan as *long past*, p.650—

yet he certainly speaks of it as a thing of the past; and the fact, that he is here made to recount these matters at such length under such circumstances,

shows plainly that the whole address is only put into the mouth of Moses by a later writer, who refers in v.11 to an antiquarian curiosity which was probably known to be preserved at Rabbah in his own time.

18. v.14. *unto this day.*] This expression, frequent in Genesis, *is not found in Exodus and the two following books. It may be a gloss inserted here by an after hand.* But it does not, as used in the Bible, necessarily imply that the time spoken of as elapsed is *long*. It amounts to no more than our 'until now.' . . . It may then be used in the text to denote the duration to the time then present of what had been already some months accomplished. Moses dwells v.13,14, on the completeness of that part of the conquest which had been achieved, and winds up his accumulation of particulars, 'all Bashan,' 'all Argob,' &c., with the statement that Jair had so thoroughly made himself master of the cities of the district as that they were *now* currently known by his name. p.815.

Ans. Moses does not say 'now,' but 'until now'—they were 'still called by his name'—which would be absurd, if he were speaking of the cities whose conquest had occurred within the last three or four months, p.650. The phrase 'unto this day' does, however, occur in E.x.6, N.xxii.30, D. xxxiv.6 (O.S.); but it is much more common in Deuteronomy, ii.22, iii.14, x.8, xi.4, xxix.4, and, no doubt, belongs here to D., who had merely lost sight, as in many other instances, of the position which he had assumed in his work for Moses.

19. v.26. *The Lord was wroth with me for your sakes.*] Here, as in i.37, iv.21, the sin of the people is stated to be the ground on which Moses' prayer is denied. In N.xxvii.14, D.xxxii.51, the transgression of Moses and Aaron themselves is assigned as the cause of their punishment. The reason why one side of the transaction is put forward in this place, and the other elsewhere, is evident. *Here* Moses is addressing the people and mentions the punishment of their leaders as a most impressive warning to them. . . . In ch.xxxii and N.xxvii God is addressing Moses, and visits on him, as is fitting, not the sin of his people, but his own. p.816.

Ans. N.xxvii.14, D.xxxii.51, both belong to the L.L. (VI.116, 129); and the marked difference between its statements on this point and that of Deuteronomy, i.37, iii.26, iv.21, seems to imply (7) that there must have been in the O.S. of N.xiv a passage in which Moses expressed a sense of weariness or despair at the work committed to him, and a desire to abandon it, *comp.* J.vii.7, caused by 'the sin of the people,' which passage was cancelled when the story in N.xx.2-13 of the L.L. was introduced.

Chap. iv.

20. After thus briefly reviewing the past, Moses proceeds in the present chapter to matter of a directly didactic and hortatory kind. . . . These same teachings

are much more copiously and elaborately insisted on in Moses' third and last address, and appear in this one in the form of prelude and introduction to the fuller treatment which awaits them hereafter. p.816.

Ans. It is probable that the original Book of Deuteronomy, i.e. the 'Book of the Covenant' as handed to Josiah, consisted only of iv.44, v-xxvi, xxviii, xxix.1, and that i.1-iv.43,45,49, with the 'prelude and introduction' in iv, as above noticed, as well as xxix.2, xxx, was afterwards added, while the Deuteronomistic portions of xxxi-xxxiv were inserted at the time when D. retouched the older narrative throughout (VI.28).

21. v.19. *and when thou seest the sun and the moon and the stars, all the host of heaven, shouldst be driven to worship them.*] The worship of the sun, moon, and stars. . . . was practised by the ancient Persians and by other Oriental nations who rejected anthropomorphic idolatry. It was formally introduced and made popular in Israel only, as it seems, in the times of the later kings. But it cannot have been unknown to Moses and the Jews of his time, since it was undoubtedly practised by many of the tribes with whom they had come in contact. p.818.

Ans. The worship of the Sun-God under various names, including that of Yahve among the Syrians and Phœnicians (V.335, &c.), and with it that of the Moon-Goddess (V.347, &c.), appears to have been practised from the earliest times 'by many of the tribes with whom the Israelites came in contact' in Canaan, and from whom the latter doubtless derived the practice themselves. But the mention of the worship of 'all the host of heaven,' which was first introduced in the reign of Manasseh into Judah, 2K.xxi.3,5, (though practised apparently at an earlier date in the northern kingdom, 2K.xvii.16), and the repeated notices of this worship by Jeremiah, Jer.viii.2, xix.13, 2K.xxiii.4,5, tend to confirm the view that Deuteronomy is the work of his hand.

22. v.41-43. In thus severing the three cities of refuge, Moses carried out a previous command of God, N.xxxv.14, and so followed up his exhortations to obedience by setting a punctual example of it as far as opportunity was given him. p.820.

Ans. There is no intimation whatever that Moses was here 'carrying out a previous command of God,' and certainly not that in N.xxxv (L.L.), which is first carried out under Joshua, J.xx (L.L.). It will be observed that D. nowhere makes any allusion to the 'Levitical cities,' N.xxxv, among which the six cities of refuge were to be included. The idea of the L.L., in fact, is based upon that of D., in this passage and in xix.1-10, which again probably rests on that of the O.S. in E.xxi.13.

23. v.44-49. These verses would be more properly assigned to the next chapter. They are intended to serve, not as a conclusion to the first introductory

and preparatory discourse which has been recorded, but as the announcement and introduction of the one now to be commenced.

v.44 gives a kind of general title to the whole of the weighty address, including in fact the central part and substance of the book. p.820.

Ans. On our view v.44, which speaks of '*the Law which Moses sets before the children of Israel,*' was the original 'title to the whole of the weighty address' in v.1, &c., from which was derived the name '*Book of the Law,*' xxviii.61, xxix.21, xxx.10, xxxi.26, J.i.8, viii.31,34, xxiii.6, xxiv.26, 2K.xiv.6, xxii.8,11, xxiii.2,21, *comp.* v.24.

But v.45-49 seems to be an expansion of v.44, made at the time when i.1-iv.43 was prefixed, and referring to facts mentioned in that preface, i.4, ii.24-37, iii.1-22, but *not* in the address which follows, v.1, &c. So in v.46, as in iii.29, we find the expression '*in the valley over-against Beth-Peor;*' whereas in the subscription to the address, xxix.1, we have only '*in the land of Moab,*' as in i.5, agreeing with xxxiv.5 (O.S.), it being natural that the place where Moses died should also be the scene of his last address. This suggests the possibility that in xxxiv.6 (O.S.) there may have stood originally '*And one buried him in the land of Moab,*' the closer definition of the site of his sepulchre, '*in the valley over-against Beth-Peor,*' having been perhaps interpolated by D,* otherwise, if v.6 belongs wholly to the O.S., D. must have copied from that document the phrase in question which he uses in iii.29, iv.46.

24. v.45,46. *after they came forth out of Egypt.*] Lit. and more accurately, *in their coming forth*, i.e. whilst they were yet on their march from the house of bondage to the Promised Land. p.821.

Ans. The fact that D. uses twice the expression '*at their going-forth out of Egypt*' in connection with the delivery of this Law, shows that he has lost sight of the 40 years of wandering introduced by himself into the story, and writes, under the influence of the O.S., in which only a comparatively short time is supposed to have elapsed since their leaving Egypt, N.xx.16, *comp.* Ju.xi.16-18.

Chap. v.

25. v.3. *The Lord made not this covenant with our fathers, but with us, even us, who are all of us here alive this day.*] The '*fathers*' here intended are, as in iv.37, the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. With them God did indeed make a covenant, but not the particular covenant now in question. The responsibilities of this later covenant, made at Sinai by the nation as a nation, attached in their day and generation to those whom Moses was addressing. p.821.

* In (VI. App.7), I have inadvertently assumed that xxxiv.6 belongs *wholly* to D.

Ans. The above explanation is at first sight plausible: but Moses does not say 'with all of us here this day alive,' but 'with us, us, these here this day, all of us alive,' which seems clearly to imply that the persons then present were those with whom the covenant had been actually made; though, as the story now stands, not one of the host then present (except Joshua and Caleb) had been one of those with whom that covenant at Sinai was made, or had even received the sign of it, J.v.4-7.

Possibly D., when he wrote this address, had not yet conceived the idea of representing 'the whole generation' as dying out, which he brings forward only in the later-written preface, ii.14,15, and therefore may have assumed many of them to be present on this occasion. Accordingly, in the address he speaks of them as having been only proved and humbled during the 40 years' wandering, viii.2-4, xxix.5, not destroyed. Or else he has lost sight for the moment of the (supposed) circumstances of the case, just as in iv.4—'But ye that did cleave unto the Lord your God *are alive all of you this day*'—he has forgotten that, even in the month or so elapsed since the affair of Baal-Peor, N.xxv.I-5, p.650, 5,000 would die in the ordinary course of nature out of so large a population (*Nim.* 1).

26. v.4,5. It appears from v.22-25 and iv.11,12, that the 'Ten words' were uttered 'with a great voice' to the assembly from the awful summit of the Mount itself; whilst the other precepts were communicated to the people through the agency of Moses. It appears from E.xix.9,17,20,24, that, whilst the people remained in the lower parts of the Mountain, Moses was from the first called apart to God on the top of it. No doubt, whilst the great voice sounded forth the 'Ten words,' he still remained there, either to convey more certainly and exactly what was uttered to the people standing far off in consternation, or, as is suggested by E.xix.9, to authenticate his mission. Even then, as regards the Decalogue, the statement of v.5 has its application. Moses 'stood between the Lord and them' whilst it was delivered; and perhaps it was addressed directly to Moses, xix.19, though in accents audible to the assembly beneath. Thus was the Law, including even the 'Ten words,' 'in the hand of a mediator,' Gal.iii.19. p.822.

Ans. E.xix.20-25 belongs to the L.L. (VI.216), and introduces the inconsistency that Moses is called up to the top of the Mountain, upon which Jehovah had 'descended in fire,' v.18, and is instantly sent down again, v.21,25, with a message to Aaron and 'the priests which come near to Jehovah,' v.22,24, though there were no priests at that time, xxiv.5, and a command to Aaron to come up with Moses, which is never carried out.

According to the O.S. all is consistent and intelligible. Moses 'brings forth the people out of the camp to meet with God,' and they stand together below the Mount, E.xix.17, and there 'Moses spake, and God answered him by a (voice =) peal of thunder,' v.19. Then the O.S. passes on to xx.18, since xix.21-25 is interpolated by L.L. and xx.I-17 (the Decalogue) by D.;

and, accordingly, in xx.18 mention is made of the people having perceived 'the thunderings and the lightnings and the noise of the trumpet and the mountain smoking,' but not the slightest allusion is made to the 'Ten Words.'

D.v.23, &c. clearly implies that Moses was *with the people* when the 'Ten Words' were spoken, as is supposed also by D. when interpolating E.xx. 1-17 between xix.19 and xx.18 of the O.S. Perhaps the expression in D.v.5, 'I stood between the Lord and you at that time,' may refer to Moses speaking and Jehovah answering in E.xix.19, or else to the presence of Moses as ready to act as mediator on their behalf, though he did not actually do so, as the story now stands, till after the delivery of the Decalogue. But D. had, of course, to meet as well as he could the difficulties caused by his own previous interpolation in E.xx, and could hardly fail to fall into some inconsistencies.

27. v.6-21. Moses here adopts the Ten words as a ground from which he may proceed to reprove, warn, and exhort, and repeats them, as is natural, where literal accuracy is not to the purpose, with a measure of freedom and adaptation. Our Lord (Mark x.19), and St. Paul (Eph.vi.2,3), deal similarly with the same subject, as indeed preachers in all ages have done. It is important, however, to note that, in the course of thus freely quoting the law, Moses thrice refers his hearers to the statutes of God themselves, v.12,15,16, 'as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee,' *i.e.* commanded from Sinai. It is thus apparent that speaker and hearers recognised *a statutory and authoritative form of the laws in question*, which, because it was familiar to both parties, needed not to be reproduced with verbal fidelity. p.822.

Ans. As Mr.ESPIN refers to the Commentary on Exodus for the discussion of the question concerning 'the variations between the Commandments as given here and in E.xx,' p.822, it must be presumed that he also,—as well as the Editor, and Mr.CLARK, and the Committee of advice (*viz.* Archbishop of York, and Regius Professors of Divinity of Oxford and Cambridge, *Adv.* p.3)—deliberately adopts the view here stated, *viz.* that *the Decalogue does not exist in its original form, as uttered by the Divine Voice on Sinai, either in E.xx or in D.v.*

Obviously the analogies quoted by Mr.ESPIN, of free quotations being made of some of these Commandments in later times and 'by preachers in all ages,' are altogether irrelevant to the case before us, where Moses is repeating solemnly the whole Decalogue in the hearing of the people, as the theme apparently of his subsequent discourse, and says—

'These words spake Jehovah unto all your assembly. . . . and He added no more; and He wrote them in two tables of stone, and delivered them unto me,' v.22.

But, if (as Mr. ESPIN says) Moses in *this* discourse ‘adopts the Ten Words’ uttered by the Divine Voice itself, and therefore, one might suppose, too sacred to be modified by human fancy and too perfect to admit of any improvement—‘with a measure of freedom and adaptation,’ how is it to be explained that the *former* record in Exodus, which at all events purports to give the identical words which were uttered on Sinai, does not contain the ‘statutory and authoritative form of the laws in question,’ which ‘was familiar to both parties’ in the Mosaic age, but is now lost for ever?

28. v.12–15. In stating the purposes of the Sabbath ordinance, Moses introduces a few words originally applied in the same connection from E.xxiii.12; and the exhortation to observe the Sabbath and allow their time of rest to servants is pointed by reminding the people that they too were formerly servants themselves. The bondage in Egypt and the deliverance from it are not assigned as grounds for the institution of the Sabbath, which is of far older date, but rather as suggesting motives for the religious observance of that institution. p.822.

Ans. Moses has here omitted the words of Jehovah in E.xx.11, ‘for in six days, &c. *therefore* Jehovah blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it,’ and inserted his own, ‘and remember that thou wast a servant, &c., *therefore* Jehovah hath commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day’—as if he thought that the latter would be more effective than those dictated by Divine wisdom and uttered ‘with a great voice’ on Sinai!

29. v.16. *that it may go well with thee.*] The blessing of general well-being is here annexed to the keeping of the Fifth Commandment, as well as that of long life, which alone is found in the parallel passage of Exodus. The insertion, however, is no real addition to the promise, but only an amplification of its expression, intended to serve the homiletic purposes of the speaker. p.823.

Ans. This ‘amplification’ helps us to trace the authorship of this book to Jeremiah, *comp.* D.iv.40, v.16,29, vi.3,13, xii.25,28, xxii.7, and Jer.vii.23, xxxviii.20, xl.9, xlii.6, 2K.xxv.24—also G.xii.13, xl.14, R.iii.1, *nowhere else in the Bible.*

30. v.21. The tenth Commandment, as here given, varies in three particulars from that in Exodus.

(i) In Exodus the *house* is mentioned first, the *wife* second, in Deuteronomy the reverse.

(ii) In D. a different word is used in reference to wife and in reference to the other objects.

(iii) In D. the ‘field’ is added to the list of objects specifically forbidden to be desired.

The LXX has brought about an uniformity as regards (ii) by altering the text of Exodus after that of Deuteronomy, the Sam. Pent. by altering Deuteronomy after Exodus. p.823.

Ans. In Exodus the *house* is set first, apparently as including *all* the other objects, 'wife, and man-slave, &c.': in Deuteronomy the 'wife' is more properly distinguished from the rest.

31. v.22. *he added no more.*] Lit. *He did not add, i.e.* He spoke no more with the great voice directly to the people, but addressed all other communications to them through Moses. . . The giving of the Two Tables did not take place until Moses had been on the Mount 40 days and 40 nights, as appears from the fuller account of ix.9-12. p.823.

Ans. D. wished the 'Ten Words' to take the place, not only of the original laws upon which the Covenant was based, E.xx.21, &c., but even of his own digest of those laws in E xxxiv.10-27, in which he had omitted all that in his times were obsolete (VI.253-254). Accordingly he nowhere refers in Deuteronomy to those older laws.

The statement that they were written on the Two Tables and delivered to Moses *immediately after their delivery*, as is plainly implied in v.22. is probably due to an inadvertence on the part of the writer.

32. v.23-33. These verses contain a much fuller narrative of the events described in E.xx.18-21. The reply of God to the request of the people (v.28-31), is omitted altogether in the historical summary of Exodus. p.823.

Ans. v.23-33 is an amplification by D. of the O.S., written throughout in his own peculiar style.

Chap. vi.

Chap. vii.

33. v.1-11. Moses proceeds to forewarn Israel against a false toleration of idolatry. . . . Hence the stringency of the command given in v.2-5 and repeated in v.23-26 to excommunicate the idolatrous nations and all belonging to them, and to exterminate their degraded worship with all its appliances. . . . The words and phrases employed will be found *parallel to various passages of the preceding books* given in the margin. p.827.

Ans. The references 'given in the margin' are only E.xxiii.32, xxxiv.12, which belong to D. himself (VI.229, 248). The history shows that no such extermination of the idolatrous nations in Canaan was ever practised or even attempted (VII.141). But D. here, in repeating energetically these commands, most probably expresses only his own detestation of such idolatries, and intimates the fate which his own countrymen would deserve if they persisted in these abominations, which were more or less habitually practised in Israel down to the time of Jeremiah, Jer.ii.8,11,26-28, &c.

34. v.7. *ye were the fewest of all people.*] He chose to Himself Israel, when as yet but a single family, or rather a single person, Abraham. . . . It is then no

inconsistency in Moses to describe Israel as rivalling the stars of heaven for multitude, i.10, x.22; since such increase had taken place because of the very blessing of God here spoken of. p.828.

Ans. The reference is clearly to the fact that, when they went down to Egypt, they were only 'seventy persons,' x.22, but had now become very numerous.

Chap. viii.

35. Israel had long been kept where the ordinary means of providing for their bodily life and safety were insufficient, and where *their own exertions could have availed but little*, and had been preserved by the special providence of God. p.829.

v.3. 'Bread' in this verse stands for the ordinary means of earthly sustenance in general. Those means in the case of Israel were withheld, and new ones by God Almighty's word and will substituted. p.830.

Ans. Canon Cook has told us that—

'changes of vast and scarcely calculable importance have taken place' in the Sinaitic peninsula 'since the time of Moses,' p.244—that 'the supply of water and the general fertility of the district must have been very different' in those days from what it is now, p.245—that 'ages before Moses and up to his time the whole district was occupied by a population whose resources and numbers must have been considerable,' p.245—that 'the vegetation, which even now protects the wells of Moses, must have been far more luxuriant,' and 'streams, far more copious than those which now water the wady, flowed over the adjoining district,' p.245—that, 'when Niebuhr visited the country at the beginning of the last century, large supplies of vegetable produce were exported regularly to Egypt, showing that the original fertility was not even then exhausted,' p.246—and that 'the aspect of the whole country, when it was first visited by Christian pilgrims, must have differed greatly from that which it presented to the Israelites, when under the guidance of Moses *they found pasturage for their flocks and herds*,' p.246—that 'they had numerous flocks and herds, which were not slaughtered, but which gave them *milk, cheese*, and of course a limited supply of flesh,' and 'may have cultivated some spots of fertile ground in the wilderness.' p.320.

And Mr. CLARK says that—

with their abundant flocks and herds, it can hardly be doubted that they had carried on an important traffic with the trading caravans that traversed the wilderness. p.358.

And Mr. ESPIN elsewhere informs us that the Israelites,—

'from their sojourn in Egypt, were familiar with artificial irrigation, and well able to husband and turn to account all available supplies of water, whether ordinary or extraordinary,' p.721, and 'were scattered over the face of the wilderness of Paran, and led a nomadic life as best suited the pasturage of cattle,' and 'dispersed

for foraging,' and how 'Mr. Porter rode for two days through a country swarming with men and women, boys and girls, looking after the cattle;—

and he further reminds us that the people during their time of wandering in the wilderness—

'had traffic in provisions with surrounding tribes; indeed, the regular highway of the caravans from the East to Egypt, and *vice versâ*, lay across the Desert of the Wanderings,' and fish were occasionally at least to be had, no doubt from the 'gulf of Akabah,' and 'nothing is better ascertained than the fact that *the resources of the whole district were in ancient times vastly greater than they now are*; the traces of a population, fertility, and wealth, that have long passed away, are found by every traveller.' p.720; see also below (36).

Surely if they had 'milk, cheese, and a limited supply of flesh' from their 'numerous [two million] flocks and herds,' and 'traffic in provisions' with 'surrounding tribes' or 'trading caravans,' besides the other 'resources' of the wilderness, in those days 'vastly greater than now,' not to speak of 'fish from the gulf of Akabah,' the 'earthly means of sustenance' can hardly be said to have been 'withheld' from the Israelites.

36. v.4. *Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell these forty years.*] *Comp.* xxix.5, 'Your clothes are not waxen old upon you, and thy shoe is not waxen old upon thy foot.' These words in a passage like the present, where the speaker is not so much narrating historically as alluding for hortatory purposes to God's care of them in the desert, may signify no more than that 'God so amply provided for them all the necessities of life, that they were never obliged to wear tattered garments, nor were their feet injured for lack of shoes or sandals.'

Of course, they had clothes, it would seem in abundance (E.xii.34,35), at the beginning of the 40 years, and equally of course some sources of supply during them. They had abundance of sheep and oxen, and so must have had much material for clothing always at command, and no doubt also carried on a traffic in these, as in other commodities, with the Moabites and the nomadic tribes of the desert. Such ordinary supplies must not be shut out of consideration, as regards the raiment of the chosen people, as they cannot in the similar question regarding their victual. It may have been that these natural sources were on occasions supplemented by extraordinary providences of God, as was undoubtedly the case with their food. The Jewish commentators, in bondage elsewhere to the letter, construe the verses as meaning that the raiment of the Israelites did not wear out in their wanderings, and implying even that the clothes of the children grew with their growth. p.830.

Ans. It is possible certainly by 'free handling' of the Scripture, on the part of those who are not 'in bondage to the letter,' to extract (as above) a meaning from it which is clearly not that of the original writer, and which

amounts to this—in direct contradiction to the whole Biblical idea of the wanderings—that the Israelites were so abundantly supplied from ‘natural sources’ that they needed no miraculous help except ‘on occasions.’ From our point of view, it is not necessary to reconcile these statements of D. with the possibilities or probabilities of their wilderness-life. It is enough to say that in xxix.5 the writer plainly means that, as they could not procure new clothing and new shoes, so by the providential care of God they had no need of any, just as in v.6 he says that they ‘had not eaten bread or drunk wine or strong drink’—as they could not obtain supplies of these ordinary articles of food, they had been enabled to live without them.

Chap. ix.

37. In referring to these circumstances, Moses here, as elsewhere, has regard not so much to the order of time as to that of subject. He inserts *e.g.* mention of the provocations of Taberah, Massah, Kibroth-hattaavah, and Kadesh-Barnea, v.22,23, in the very midst of the narrative respecting the idolatry at Horeb, and his own conduct in reference thereto.

The like reasons, convenience and fitness to his argument, sufficiently explain the variations observable when the statements of this chapter are minutely compared with those of E.xxxii–xxxiv. There is no real discrepancy, much less contradiction. Sometimes the more particular history of Exodus is condensed, as in v.26–29, where the substance of Moses’ intercessions on two occasions, E.xxxii.11–13, xxxiv.9, is summed up in one statement. At other times circumstances not in Exodus are set forth here, because they are such as enhance the impressiveness of the admonitions Moses was uttering, *e.g.* the fact is put forward that Moses fasted for *two* periods of 40 days, v.9,18, *one* such fast only being expressly named in Exodus, as is also his special intercession for Aaron, v.20. In these variations we have nothing more or other than such treatment of facts as is usual and warrantable enough between parties personally acquainted with the matter in question, a treatment which implies and assumes *a knowledge of the facts in both speaker and hearer*, and which therefore, there being no fear of misleading, can dispense with minute specifications of time, place, and circumstance. p.833.

Ans. Mr.ESPIN seems to have forgotten that Moses could hardly have assumed such a knowledge of these facts in his hearers, as would allow him to ‘dispense with minute specifications, &c.,’ seeing that the events had occurred 39 years previously, and not one of them was then 20 years old, and *two-thirds* of the whole number were not even born (VI.447, note).

Besides this difficulty, the ‘variations’ in question can hardly be accounted for in the above fashion; *e.g.* in E.xxxii.11–13 Moses intercedes for the people *before* he comes down from the Mount and Jehovah ‘repented’; whereas in D.ix.18,19, *comp.* v.25–29, he intercedes for them only *after* his descent—see (38) below; and in v.22 not only does the writer not very much

'regard the order of time,' e.g. *Taberah*, N.xi.1-3, *Massah*, E.xvii.1, &c. *Kibroth-hattaavah*, N.xi.4, &c., but he has fallen into the error—one which *Moses* could not have committed—of distinguishing, as two different places, *Taberah* and *Kibroth-hattaavah*, which are only different names for the same place, and separating them by the scene of an event which occurred twelve months previously. For, as Mr. ESPIN says elsewhere,—

This incident [at *Taberah*] might seem to have occurred at the Station called, from another still more terrible event which shortly followed, *Kibroth-hattaavah*. p.688.

See further on this point below (39).

On our view, these variations are explained very naturally, and the examination leads to some important results in the criticism of the Pentateuch (VI.42, &c.).

38. v.18. *I fell down before the Lord as at the first, forty days and forty nights.*] *Moses* interceded for the people before he came down from the mountain the first time, E.xxxii.11-13. This intercession is only briefly alluded to in this verse. Afterwards he spent another 40 days on the mountain in fasting and prayer to obtain a complete restitution of the covenant, E.xxxiv.28. It is this second 40 days and the intercession of *Moses* made therein (E.xxxiv.9), that is more particularly brought forward here and in v.25-29. *There is no inconsistency between the two accounts.* p.834.

Ans. In v.18 the phrase 'as at the first' does not 'briefly allude' to his having 'fallen down' before, of which no mention whatever has been made, but to the former '40 days and 40 nights' in v.9. Nor is it credible that this second '40 days and 40 nights' in v.18,25, can be meant to be identical with those in E.xxxiv.28, when *Moses* had already interceded effectually in E.xxxii.30, &c., comp. xxxiii.1,2,14,16, after which he was summoned up into the Mount a second time to receive two new Tables and a new revelation, xxxiv.1-27, and certainly is not supposed to have spent the '40 days and 40 nights' in v.28 in intercession.

The notice before us in v.18,25, is due to D., who here defines the duration of the intercession in E.xxxii.31 as 'forty days' (VI.341); and E.xxxiv.9 is itself part of an interpolation by his hand, v.9-27 (VI.248).

39. v.22. *Taberah, Massah, Kibroth-hattaavah.*] The 'burning,' which gave to the place the name of *Taberah*, occurred on the outer edge of the Camp, N.xi.1. It happened, however, whilst the people were encamped at the Station afterwards called *Kibroth-hattaavah*, from another judgment inflicted there for another rebellion. *Taberah* was then the name of a spot in or near the Station of *Kibroth-hattaavah*, and accordingly it is not named in the list of the encampments given in N.xxxiii.16. The separate mention of the two is, however, here appropriate; for each place and each name was a memorial of an act of rebellion. The

instances in this and the next verse are not given in the order of occurrence. The speaker for his own purposes advances from the slighter to the more heinous proofs of guilt. *p.835.*

Ans. At *Taberah* 'the fire of Jehovah burnt among them, &c.,' N.xi.1; at *Massah* no loss of life occurred, E.xvii.1, &c.: it is difficult to see how the speaker advances here 'from the slighter to the more heinous' offence.

But how strange it would be, if Moses were really the speaker, that, in order to show that they had been rebelling during the whole 40 years 'until they came to this place,' v.7, 'from the day that he knew them,' v.24, he can only quote these incidents all occurring within a year of each other nearly 39 years ago, when not one of those addressed was 20 years old and two-thirds of them were not even born—but which (N.B.) are *the only materials which D. had at his disposal for this purpose in the narrative of the O.S. which he had before him.*

Chap. x.

40. v.1 5. The order for making the ark and tabernacle was evidently given before the apostasy of the people, E.xxv. &c; and the tables were not put in the ark until the completion and dedication of the tabernacle, E.xl. But here as elsewhere Moses connects transactions closely related to each other and to his purpose without regard to the order of occurrence. *p.835.*

Ans. In (VI.46-53) the phenomenon noticed above is considered, and the whole matter fully explained. Here Moses says that he made the ark *before* he went up on the second occasion, v.3, and that he put the tables in the ark, already made, *as soon as he came down*, v.5; whereas, as the story now stands, it is only *after* he comes down with the tables in his hand, E.xxxiv.29, that he invites the people to contribute expressly to make the ark, xxxv.4-12, and appoints the workmen who are to make it, v.30-35, who accordingly make it, xxxvii.1-5, and the tables are at last put into it in E.xl.20, when the tabernacle and all its furniture had been finished, 'on the first day of the first month,' xl.2, *about six months after he came down the second time*, during which interval it does not appear what was done with the tables.

I have shown that these contradictions have arisen from the L.L. having inserted the account of the construction of the magnificent tabernacle, ark, &c. in E.xxv-xxxi.17, xxxv-xl, instead of the humbler tent of the O.S., xxxiii.7-11, and which compelled the suppression of the words, 'and make thee an ark of wood,' 'and thou shalt place them in the ark,' which must have stood originally in E.xxxiv.1,2, since in D.x.1,2, the writer quotes this passage with almost verbal accuracy, except that these two phrases do not now occur in it. In like manner, a clause corresponding to that in D.x.3, 'and I made an ark of shittim-wood,' has been struck out of E.xxxiv.4,

which begins abruptly at present, 'and he hewed, &c.,' without a renewed mention of Moses as the subject of the verb, which was absolutely needed after the Divine address to him in v.1-3, *i.e.* the O.S. had originally in E.xxxiv.4, '*and Moses made an ark of shittim-wood, and he hewed, &c.*' See (VI.90), where the two passages are placed in juxtaposition, and the truth of the above explanation will be almost self-evident.

41. v.6. *there Aaron died.*] *i.e.* whilst the people were encamped at Moserah or Moseroth. In xxxii.50, as well as N.xx.25, &c. Mount Hor is assigned as the place of Aaron's death. It is plain, then, that Moserah was in the neighbourhood of Mount Hor; and this is confirmed by other notices of the locality. Aaron did not die in the Camp, neither from the nature of the case could the Camp be pitched actually on Mount Hor. It was, of course, located on the slopes or at the foot of the Mount—more precisely, at Moserah. Thence Aaron, Moses, and Eleazar 'went up into Mount Hor in the sight of the congregation,' and 'Aaron died there in the top of the Mount.' p.836.

Ans. In (VI.138-143) I have shown that v.6,7, except v.6^c, is a fragment of the O.S., which has found its present place by some accident quite inexplicable. The list of marches, 'from Beeroth to Mosera, from thence to Gudgodab, and from Gudgodah to Jotbath,' is exactly in the form of the itinerary in N.xxi.10-20, and probably belonged to it originally: and that some portion of it has been struck out appears from the fact that there is a sudden leap from 'Beer' in v.16 to 'the wilderness' in v.18, which has caused some difficulty to commentators. Also the notice 'there Aaron died, and he was buried there,' corresponds exactly with the notice of the death of Miriam in N.xx.1, 'and Miriam died there, and she was buried there.'

These verses are quite out of place where they stand: they 'so break in upon the connection of Moses' discourse,' says the Rev.T.Scott, 'that they perplex commentators,' though Mr.ESPIN passes very lightly over the difficulty.

Paranthetical mention is made of the two journeys which next followed Aaron's death, and with the same theme apparently in view. God showed that His care and love of His people were not diminished because of the sin and consequent death of the first solemnly appointed and official mediator, Aaron. God led them from the spot, where they had witnessed Aaron's departure, to a land of rest and refreshment. p.836.

But it seems impossible that D. can have placed this notice in its present position; since v.8-11 clearly points to the narrative in E.xxxii—see (42) below—when Aaron was still living, and *he did not die till 38 years afterwards*, according to the story. Accordingly Mr.ESPIN falls back upon the notion of a 'gloss.'

It is possible, however, that these two verses may be, as may some other

notices of a like character, a gloss. The words 'at that time' in v.8 certainly connect themselves with v.5, and not with v.7. p.836.

The explanation of the matter seems to be, that the L.L. added v.6°, 'and Eleazar his son acted-as-priest in his stead,' to the passage as it stood originally in N.xxi; but when the story of Aaron's death on Mount Hor was introduced, N.xx.23-29, and the related passages, xx.2-13, xxvii.12-14, xxxiii.38,39, D.xxxii.48-52, this passage was cancelled, and has by some accident dropped into its present position.

Moserah may have been in the neighbourhood of Mount Hor; but the L.L. gives the marching in the opposite direction to that here, viz. 'from Moseroth to Bene-Jaakan, and from Bene-Jaakan to Hor-hagidgad,' N.xxxiii.31,32, instead of 'from Bene-Jaakan to Moserah, and from Moserah to Gudgodah,' D.x.6,7.

42. v.8. *at that time the Lord separated the tribe of Levi, to bear the ark of the covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord to minister unto Him, and to bless in His Name, unto this day]* at that time, i.e. of the encampment of Sinai. . . . As the priests were of the tribe of Levi, their special duties, as well as those belonging to the other Levites, may generally be assigned to that tribe in contradistinction to the other eleven. It was properly the *priest's* office to bless, N.vi.22, &c. and to minister before the Lord, D.xviii.5, while the *non-priestly* family of Kohath had the duty of bearing the ark, N.iv.15. But Moses is evidently here speaking of the election by God of the tribe of Levi at large, priests and others also, for His own service. p.836.

Ans. In the O.S. and in D. the *priests* are identical with the *Levites*, and carry the ark, D.xxxi.9,25, J.iii.3,6,8,13,14,15,17, iv.9,10,16,18, vi.4,6,12, viii.33, which was therefore reckoned as a *priestly* duty, laid upon the whole 'tribe of Levi.' The phrase 'at that time' points, no doubt, to the act recorded in E.xxxii.26-29, where the Levites slay 3,000 of their sinful brethren, and Moses says, 'Consecrate-yourselves (*lit.* fill your hand) to-day to Jehovah, each by his son and by his brother, that He may bestow upon you this day a blessing.' And so says KEIL, II.p.188:—

Among all the tribes the Levites by their faithful action for the honour of Jehovah in the matter of the worship of the Golden Calf, had shown themselves most fitted for the work of the Tabernacle. In this spirit, which inspired the tribe of Levi, lies undoubtedly the reason for their being chosen by God for the service of the Sanctuary.

But no blessing follows in the O.S. as it now lies before us. It seems plain that 'at that time' the 'whole tribe of Levi' must have been set apart for sacred offices in the original narrative; though the passage to that effect was of necessity cancelled, when the L.L. introduced its distinction of the

'priests' who were to 'minister before Jehovah' and the 'Levites' who were to 'minister to the priest,' N.iii.6, xviii.2.

43. v.16. The language associated with circumcision in the Bible distinguishes the use made of this rite in the Jewish religion from that found among certain heathen nations. Circumcision was practised by those nations, and as a religious rite, but not by any, the Egyptians probably excepted, at all in the Jewish sense and meaning. It is found *e.g.* among the Phoenicians, but as one of a class of usages, human sacrifices being another example, which were designed to appease a deity representing the power of death and destruction, and supposed therefore to delight in human privation and suffering. p.838.

Ans. When we consider the real history of the composition of the Pentateuch, and the 'class of usages,' including 'human sacrifices,' which undoubtedly prevailed widely among the Hebrews in all ages down to the Captivity, it seems most probable that their practice of circumcision was, like that of the Phoenicians and the tribes of Canaan generally, a religious rite connected originally with the worship of the Sun-God, which in the burning East had its destructive, as well as its beneficial, aspect.

Chap. xi.

44. v 6. *and what He did unto Dathan and Abiram, sons of Eliab, sons of Reuben.* It has been noted that Korah and the Levites who took part with him are not mentioned here, though in N.xvi 'Korah and his company' took a leading part in the rebellion. It may be added that the name of 'On, the son of Peleth,' N.xvi.1, is omitted also. But, in a mere allusion such as that before us, and made too in the presence of eye-witnesses of the facts, it was superfluous to give all the names of the leaders in 'the gainsaying.' The omission of Korah and the Levites seems intelligible enough when we remember that Moses was addressing and admonishing, not the Levites, but the congregation at large. The rebellion of Korah evidently included an attack on both the ecclesiastical and civil arrangements of Moses. The former were assailed by Korah and certain of the Levites, the latter by Dathan, Abiram, and On, with 250 other 'princes of the assembly,' N.xvi.2. This latter was the only portion of the sedition which it was relevant to Moses' present purpose to name, and he therefore naturally omits the former. p.839.

Ans. But the '250 princes of the assembly' belong evidently to the 'company' of Korah, N.xvi.17,35, and 'On, son of Peleth' disappears when the text is corrected as it stood originally, 'Dathan and Abiram, sons of Eliab, son of Pallu, son of Reuben' (VI.100, note). It is plain that the O.S., which D. had before him, contained nothing about 'Korah,' who is merely a creation of the L.L., introduced to maintain the claims of the priesthood against the Levites (VI.100,101). In (VI.ch.xiii) the O.S. is given completely, containing only 'Dathan and Abiram,' as here.

45. v.6. *all the substance that was in their possession*] render every living thing which followed them, *lit.* 'at their feet.' The expression does not mean their goods, which would be included in their 'households and tents,' but their followers, described as 'all the men that appertained to Korah,' N.xvi.32. p.839.

Ans. In N.xvi.32 the words 'which (appertained) to Korah' have been inserted by the L.L. How indeed should all Korah's *servants* and *slaves* have been swallowed up with Dathan and Abiram and their families, while Korah's *sons* were not, N.xxvi.11? But the O.S. says clearly enough (omitting the above interpolation) 'the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them (Dathan and Abiram), and their households, both all the men and all the substance;' and so says D. in the passage before us.

46. v.29. *thou shalt put the blessing upon Gerizim.*] Mount Gerizim was and is as barren as Ebal (see Robinson, II.276, &c.), and was probably selected as the hill of benediction, because it was the southernmost of the two, the south being the region, according to Hebrew ideas, of light, and so of life and blessing. p.841.

Ans. Mr.GROVE says, *D.B.* I.p.470, 'The report of the old travellers was that Ebal was more barren than Gerizim: but this opinion probably arose from a belief in the effects of the curse. At any rate, it is not borne out by the recent accounts, according to which there is little or no perceptible difference. *Both mountains are terraced, and Ebal is occupied from bottom to top with beautiful gardens.*'

And Mr.FOULKES says, *D.B.* I.p.679, 'We are not called upon to prove that Ebal was entirely barren, which it can scarcely be called now; while *Gerizim was the same proverb for verdure and gushing rills formerly that it is now, at least where it descends towards Nablûs.*'

In any case Gerizim, according to JOSEPHUS, *Ant.* XI.vii.2, 'was the highest of the mountains of Samaria,' and its 'massive height was visible afar off,' *D.B.* II.p.680, on which account it may have been chosen as the Mount of Blessing.

47. v.30. 'Gilgal' and 'the plains'—rather, the oaks—'of Moreh' are added to define more particularly the section of the Canaanites intended. The fact that the whole district in question is clearly placed by these local notes beyond the main central road of Palestine, ought to have precluded the charges of anachronism brought forward on the assumption that the Gilgal here named is the Gilgal by Jericho, which only received its name in the time of Joshua, v.9.

The purpose of Moses is to mark the situation of two mountains which were to be the scene of a very remarkable function of his ritual. He describes them first as beyond Jordan, on the banks of which Israel then was; next, as beyond the well-known high road through the country; next, as in the land occupied by certain Canaanites, 'over-against Gilgal and beside the oaks of Moreh.' These latter were apparently familiar to the people from the history of Abraham, G.xii.6, and were in the neighbourhood of Sichem: obviously therefore the Gilgal by

Jericho is out of the question in the case before us. Whether D. was or was not written after the time of Joshua, the writer of this verse did not and could not intend to refer to a place on the edge of the Jordan such as the Gilgal of J.v.9, but to one in the neighbourhood of Moreh and Siehem, some 35 miles distant at least.

Bearing these things in mind, it seems impossible to doubt that the Gilgal of this verse is to be found in the Jiljûlieh of Robinson, a large village about 12 miles south of Gerizim. Jiljûlieh is on the brow of a lofty range of hills, and would be very appropriately assigned as a landmark. It may also have been the Gilgal from which Elijah and Elisha 'went down' from Bethel, 2K.ii.1,2, and which is repeatedly named in the history of those prophets. The Gilgal, mentioned in J.xii.23 as a capital of certain nations, seems to have been a *third* place bearing this descriptive and so not uncommon name. p.842.

Ans. We may adopt Mr. ESPIN's own words and say, 'Whether D. was or was not written after the time of Joshua, the writer of this verse did not and could not intend to refer' in any way to an insignificant place like *Jiljûlieh*, of which there is no certain trace—and, on our view, no trace whatever—in the Bible, in order to define the position of these conspicuous mountains; though a later writer may have inadvertently mentioned 'the Gilgal' first named by Joshua, J.v.9, which was so well known as the first encampment of the Israelites in Canaan, J.iv.19, and was the site of a sacred stone-circle, apparently as famous as 'Stonehenge' in our own English history.

The fact is that only *one* place is called 'the Gilgal,' i.e. 'the Circle,' in the whole Hebrew Scriptures. In 2K.ii.1,2, it is not said that Elijah and Elisha 'went-down' to Bethel 'from the Gilgal,' but merely that they 'went out of the Gilgal,' evidently without any purpose of going to Bethel; and, *on their way* apparently, Elijah says to Elisha, 'Tarry here, I pray thee, for Jehovah hath sent me to Bethel:' but Elisha would not leave him, and 'they went-down to Bethel.' Clearly they had left 'the Gilgal,' when Elijah bids Elisha 'Tarry here,' and may be supposed to have reached some eminence *higher* than Bethel or *north* of it; just as Ehud escaped from the Gilgal to Mount Ephraim, Ju.iii.26,27, *comp.* v.19, and Mount Ephraim extended as far as Bethel, 2K.v.22. And surely the sons of the prophets would be most likely to live at the sacred site of 'the Gilgal;' and the very fact that, when there was a famine in the land in the neighbourhood of *this* Gilgal, iv.38—which is identical with that in ii.1, as appears from the phrase, 'Elisha *came-again* to the Gilgal'—supplies were brought to them from Baal-Shalisha, v.42, whose site is fixed by EUSEBIUS in the very position where now stand the ruins of Jiljûlieh, *D.B.* I.p.700, seems to prove decisively that Jiljûlieh, where food was to be had, was *not* 'the Gilgal' in question, and apparently was not even very near it, perhaps 'some 35 miles distant.'

In J.xii.23 the LXX has *τῆς Γαλιλαίας*, and the reading should probably be—not *לְנִלְנִל*, but—*לְנִלְנִל*, i.e. ‘King of the nations of Galilee,’ *comp.* *לְנִלְנִל*, xx.7, xxi.32, and see Is.ix.1 (viii.23).

Thus there remains but one ‘Gilgal,’ which is imperatively required in every other passage where the name occurs in the Pentateuch and Joshua (VI.ch.xiv.note¹³⁹, ch.xvii.note¹⁵⁶).

The meaning of the passage before us seems to be plainly this—‘these mountains lie in the land of the Canaanites *who dwell in the Arabah* (Ghor) *over-against the Gilgal*,’ where the writer defines the *southern* part of the Ghor or valley of the Jordan in contradistinction from the northern portion. He thus indicates the locality in question with reference to the *whole* land of Canaan, as not lying in the south nor yet in the north of the land, nor even in the northern portion of its central region, and then adds ‘near the terebinths of Moreh,’ thus fixing their position more closely in the neighbourhood of Shechem (VI.343).

Chap. xii.

48. *The Sinaitic Legislation was nearly 40 years old*, and had been given under conditions of time, place, and circumstance now distant from the present ones. The Promised Land was in sight; *the lawgiver himself was about to be withdrawn, and his institutions were at length about to be put into full effect.* Moses, in ripeness of wisdom and experience, now completes his office by enlarging, explaining, *modifying*, and supplementing, under Divine guidance and sanction, the code which under the like authority he had in earlier days promulgated. Yet the Sinaitic system, so far from being set aside or in any way abrogated, is on the contrary throughout presupposed and assumed. . . . The Book of Deuteronomy is a kind of Commentary upon the Decalogue, and an application of it. p.842.

Ans. The traditionary view supposes that ‘the Sinaitic Legislation’ was uttered by the very mouth of Jehovah, *comp.* L.i.1, was expressly intended to be used in the land of Canaan which they were expecting immediately to enter, before the rebellion in N.xiv, and was therefore adapted by Infinite Wisdom to their future circumstances; and yet, according to Mr. ESPIN, it required ‘modifying’ at the end of 40 years, before they had put their foot on the Promised Land! It is very plain, however, that Mr. ESPIN, who speaks of the human ‘lawgiver’ and ‘his institutions,’ does not believe in ‘the Sinaitic Legislation’ having been orally uttered by the Divine Legislator: according to him, it is merely the product of the mind of Moses himself ‘under Divine guidance and sanction’—a view which is distinctly at variance with the manifest intention of the Scripture writers.

There is no reference in Deuteronomy to any part of ‘the Sinaitic system,’ except the laws of the O.S. But it is natural that this book should be ‘a

kind of Commentary upon the Decalogue,' if the Decalogue itself is due to the Deuteronomist (VI.217).

49. *v.5.* The purpose of the command of the text is to secure the unity, and through unity the purity, of the worship of God. . . . There are not wanting in their history examples which demonstrate their proneness to this corruption [idolatry], as soon as the precepts of the text were relaxed or neglected, *e.g.* that of Gideon, Ju.viii., of Micah, Ju.xviii., of Jeroboam, 1K.xiii. *p.843.*

Ans. The abolition of the high-places in Hezekiah's time, 2K.xviii.4, and Josiah's, xxiii.8, was intended to secure 'unity' and 'purity' of worship. But how little the 'command of the text' really availed to prevent idolatry, even under the reign of a pious prince, is sufficiently indicated by Jer.ii.⁸, 26-28, iii.6,9, &c.; and, no doubt, the actual state of things around him is truly represented by D. himself in *v.8* of the passage before us, 'Ye shall not do after all that we do here this day, each whatever is right in his own eyes'—which license is supposed by Mr. ESPIN to have been allowed, or at least tolerated, by Moses himself, with the people gathered 'in encampment together,' *p.858*, and the tabernacle in their midst!

50. *v.5.* The prescription before us is not altogether new. Its principle is clearly laid down in E.xx.24, simultaneously with the very first promulgation of the Law at Sinai. Its practice was secured during the journeyings through the wilderness by the enactment, L.xvii.1-7, which forbade the offering of sacrifices elsewhere than 'at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.' But the detection and suppression of unlawful worship was comparatively easy whilst *the whole nation was organised in one camp*. Now that the 2½ tribes were established beyond Jordan, and the rest were soon to be scattered in their settled homes over the whole face of the Promised Land, the opportunities and the temptations for setting up idol shrines, and for devising private rites, would be much greater. As a natural and necessary consequence, the command before us is repeated with more point and stringency, and is guarded on every side from infringement. *p.843.*

Ans. E.xx.24, 'in every place where I record My Name, I will come unto thee and I will bless thee,' in its obvious sense, confirmed by the direction to make only a rude altar of earth or of rough stone, *v.24,25*, is directly at variance with this command in D.xii.5, and implies that, according to the O.S., altars might be built anywhere about the land, as they undoubtedly were in earlier times (VI.ch.xii.note²³)—

and we read of sacrifices offered at various places by Judges, Prophets, Kings, and others, and accepted by God. *p.844.*

It is difficult to see how the practice enjoined in the text can have been 'secured' in the wilderness by L.xvii.1-7, when we read D.xii.8, and note that this laxity was permitted by Moses himself, at a time when 'the de-

tection and suppression of unlawful worship was comparatively easy whilst the whole nation was organised in one Camp ' around him. But L.xvii.1-7, belongs to the L.L., and this command, which lays so much stress upon the worship being confined to the place 'which Jehovah had chosen to set his Name there,' is peculiar to the *Deuteronomist*, D.xii.5,11,21, xiv.23,24, xvi.2,6,11, xxvi.2, and to *Jeremiah*, Jer.iii.17, vii.10,11,12,14,30, xxv.29, xxxii.34, xxxiv.15, 1K.v.3,5, viii.16-20,29,43,44,48, ix.3,7, xi.36, xiv.21, 2K.xxi.4,7, xxiii.27, and 2S.vii.13, also due to D. (VII.*App.*128).

It may be well to remind the reader that, though here Mr. Espin says that 'during the journeyings through the wilderness the whole nation was organised in one Camp,' he elsewhere tells us that 'the congregation during these years was broken up,' and 'they were scattered over the wilderness of Paran, and led a nomadic life as best suited the pasturage of the cattle.' p.720. Where was the 'adjusting' hand of the Editor?

51. v.5. The words 'the place which the Lord shall choose to put His Name there' suggest Jerusalem and Solomon's Temple to our minds. But though . . . they have a proper application to the Temple, yet they must not be referred exclusively to it, . . . and Jeremiah, speaking in the name of the Lord, calls Shiloh 'My place where I set My Name at the first,' vii.12. The text in truth does not import that God would always from the first choose one and the same locality to 'put His Name there,' but that there would always be a locality so chosen by Him, and that thither the people must bring their sacrifices, and not offer them at their convenience or pleasure elsewhere. p.843.

Ans. But the text does imply that there was only *one* such place at a time—'Shiloh at the first' and in later times Jerusalem. It does not allow of there being *several* 'chosen' places at once, where sacrifices might be offered, *e.g.* Mizpeh, 1S.vii.9, Ramah, v.17, ix.12, Gilgal, x.8, xi.15, xv.21, besides (apparently) Bethel, x.3.

52. v.5. Neither does the text forbid the offering of sacrifices to God at other places than the one chosen by Him 'to put His Name there,' on proper occasions and by proper authority. Moses himself, xxvii.5,6, enjoins the erection of a stone altar on Mount Ebal for burnt-offerings to be offered on the day of commination. And we read of sacrifices offered at various places by Judges, Prophets, Kings, and others, and accepted by God. . . . Yet these were no transgressions of the command of the text; much less can we infer from them that the worshippers knew nothing of such a command. Clearly the several places in question were *for the particular purpose and occasion* as really 'chosen by God to put His Name there,' as were Shiloh or Jerusalem for ordinary purposes or occasions. In short, the text prohibits sacrifices at any other locality than that which God should appoint for the purpose. It is no contravention of it that he should not only choose a site for the national sanctuary, and for the regular worship of His

people, but should also specially direct on extraordinary emergencies sacrifices to be brought to Him elsewhere. p.844.

Ans. Did Jehovah direct Gideon to sacrifice at Ophrah, Ju.vi.24, or Solomon at Gibeon, 1K.iii.4, and other 'high-places,' v.3, at a time when he 'loved the Lord,' or Elijah on Mount Carmel, 1K.xviii.31, &c., 'and that after the erection of the Temple,' p.844, or Samuel at Mizpeh, Ramah, and Gilgal (51) ?

53. v.6. *thither shall ye bring your burnt-offerings, and your sacrifices, and your tithes, and heave-offerings of your hand, and your vows, and your freewill offerings, and the firstlings of your herds and of your flocks.*] Some have objected that this command cannot possibly have been carried out, at all events until in later days the territory which owed obedience to it was narrowed to the little kingdom of Judah. No doubt the necessity for making some kinds of offerings (*e.g.* the trespass-offerings), must under the statutes of L.v.vi. have arisen very frequently. Can it have been imperative on everyone who contracted ceremonial uncleanness to rid himself of it on each occasion by journeying perhaps from distant Dan, or the further side of Jordan, to Shiloh or Jerusalem, to offer the prescribed sacrifices?

Let it be noted that the dimensions of the difficulty have been sometimes over-estimated. Even Dan, the furthest point of the land, was less than 100 miles from Jerusalem. This fact shows that the rule requiring all males to go up to the Capital at the three great Feasts was by no means impracticable because of distance, even when the twelve tribes were united in one kingdom, especially as these feasts all occurred in the summer months, *when travelling is easy.*

But in these and in other precepts Moses takes doubtless much for granted. He is here, as elsewhere, regulating and defining more precisely institutions which had long been in existence, as to many details of which custom, as in our own law both of Church and State, superseded the necessity of specific enactment. No doubt, the people well understood, what Maimonides expressly tells us in reference to the matter, *viz.* that, where immediate payment could not be made, the debt to God was to be reserved until the next great feast, and then duly discharged. Nor need we doubt that the commutation of the tithes allowed, xiv.24,25, was extended, as indeed would follow from the nature of the case and from the parallel directions about the redemption of things not presented to God in kind (*e.g.* N.xviii.15), to *any* or *all* of the offerings here enumerated, as occasion might require. The thing specially to be observed was, that no kind of sacrifice was to be offered except at the sacred spot fixed by God for its acceptance. The reserving of an offering until it could be made at this spot was in some cases necessary, *if this command was to be kept*, and, where necessary, was no doubt lawful. p.844.

Ans. Thus, with the help of a series of perfectly arbitrary assumptions, Mr.ESPIN considers that he has disposed of the difficulty, winding up with the admission that, 'if this command was to be kept,' *it must have been modified in practice!*

I have said (III.641, VI.349) that the 'going-up from the distant Dan'

involved 'a journey of 200 miles,' but, of course, I included the return journey, as I have written (VI.261)—'Thus just before the commencement of the season of harvest, "all the males," if the law had been in operation in Solomon's time, would have had to travel up to Jerusalem at one extremity of the kingdom—a distance of more than a *hundred* miles from the more distant places, whose inhabitants would therefore consume the greater part of a week on the journey *each way*.' Mr.ESPIN asserts that Dan was 'less than 100 miles from Jerusalem.' He does not give any authority for this statement; and I can only say that, measuring the distance in a direct line, *without any allowance for windings of the road*, upon the best map I have (in Black's Atlas), I find the distance to be 104 miles. Also Mr.ESPIN says that 'travelling is easy in the summer months.' In (VI.262-3) I have given extracts from KITTO showing that, during the time (March and April) assigned for the Feast of Mazzoth and Passover, 'much rain falls, sometimes in torrents, by day and night, but chiefly by night, and all that has been said before about inundated plains and hollows is strictly applicable to this month (March), as well as that the streams are in many cases swollen to deep and rapid rivers, dangerous to pass,' the 'rainy season' occurring 'generally from the middle of March to the middle of April'; whereas at the time of the Feast of Harvest (Weeks), between the middle of May and middle of June, various travellers complain of 'the excessive heat which they endured while travelling in the day-time, or which prevented them from travelling other than by night,' while Jordan 'overfloweth all his banks,' J.iii.15, and 'a year seldom passes in which some pilgrims are not drowned.'

Yet the law in D.xvi.16,17, would have required the presence of every male at Jerusalem at *each* of these seasons, though they would have been kept marching up and down, from 'the distant Dan' and the trans-Jordanic territory almost all the summer, instead of attending to their crops and their flocks. And, supposing that 'custom' allowed of the modifications suggested by Mr.ESPIN, *viz.* that sacrifices might be 'reserved' or 'commuted,'—so that a number of uncleannesses, *e.g.* from touching dead beasts or birds or beetles or bones, without knowing it, might be purged all at once, the sacrifices for all being offered together in kind or in money, and the offender (it must be supposed) being 'atoned' beforehand by the mere promise or intention of offering,—yet this cannot have applied to the *Passover* sacrifices, and N.xviii.15 only prescribes the redemption of *human* firstborns and *unclean* firstlings, whereas the firstlings of kine, sheep, and goats, were *not* to be redeemed, v.17.

54. v.7. *and there ye shall eat before the Lord your God, &c.*] Comparing v.17, 18, we learn that the presentation of the tithes and the firstlings was also

associated with a feast. This, however, is not instituted by Moses here, nor indeed anywhere else. It makes its appearance incidentally as a custom. All that is said of it is that it shall take place, like other such feasts, at the Sanctuary. The firstlings are assigned to the priests, N.xviii.15-18, the tithes to the Levites, v.21, &c. p.845.

Ans. v.17,18, does not say that 'the presentation of the tithes and firstlings was associated with a feast,' but that the firstlings and tithes, assigned in the L.L., as above, exclusively to the priests and Levites respectively, shall be feasted on by the offerer and his children and slaves, 'and the Levite within his gates'—the 'Levite' being put on exactly the same footing with other needy persons, 'the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow,' xiv.29, &c. This feasting 'makes its appearance' here 'incidentally as a custom,' because probably D. found it already to some extent practised in his time. But in the later days of the L.L. the 'tithes' and 'firstlings,' no doubt—such, at least, as were offered—became the perquisite of the priests and Levites, Neh.x.36,37, xiii.5,12.

55. v.8. *ye shall not do according to all that we do here this day, each all that is right in his own eyes.*] Moses points out that heretofore they had not observed the prescribed order in their worship, because during their migratory life in the wilderness it had been impossible to do so. During their wanderings there were doubtless times when the tabernacle was not set up for days together, and when the daily sacrifice (N.xxviii.1), together with many other ordinances were necessarily omitted. It is not too much to say, in face of the fact that circumcision itself had been for many years neglected, J.v.5, &c. that *the whole system was imperfectly acted upon up to the death of Moses, and important parts of it left altogether in abeyance.* This consideration must be carefully borne in mind throughout Deuteronomy. It illustrates the necessity for a repetition of very much of the Sinaitic Legislation, and suggests the reason why some parts are so urgently reiterated and impressed, whilst others are left unnoticed. The speaker has in view throughout the state of religion and its observances among his hearers. p.845.

Ans. D. plainly means to imply—not that 'important parts' of the 'Sinaitic Legislation' had been 'necessarily omitted' and 'left altogether in abeyance' in the wilderness, but that the people did what they pleased, and, strange to say, were not checked in their negligence and indifference by Moses, who allowed 'circumcision,' the very seal of the covenant, to be neglected for 40 years, all the while that they were in the wilderness, not merely after the ban in N.xiv, but from the time they left Egypt, J.v.4-6, although they rested for nearly a year under Sinai, E.xix.1, N.x.11, and for a year on the average at each Station afterwards, N.xxxiii. But, 'if the whole system was imperfectly acted upon up to the death of Moses,' there is

certainly no sign of its having been acted upon afterwards, down to the Captivity.

56. v.15. In L.xvii.3-6, the people had been forbidden under any circumstances to slay any animal except 'at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.' . . . The prohibition against slaying animals for food elsewhere than at the Sanctuary had necessarily now to be relaxed. It could not be maintained when the people were dispersed in their homes from Dan to Beersheba. Whilst then a stringent injunction is laid down that the old rule must be adhered to as regards animals slain in sacrifice, yet permission is given to slaughter at home what was necessary for the table. p.846.

Ans. The command in L.xvii.3-6, which required that every ox, lamb, or goat, killed in or out of the Camp, as large as London, and 'all sacrifices offered in the open field,' should be brought to the entrance of the Tent of Meeting, was to be '*a statute for ever unto them throughout their generations,*' v.7, and is supposed to have been issued at a time when the Israelites were expecting to enter Canaan *at once*, without any long sojourn in the wilderness. It follows, then, that a law laid down by Divine Wisdom, and expressly intended to be '*a statute for ever*' when they should be settled in Canaan, 'could not be maintained when the people were dispersed in their homes from Dan to Beersheba'!

Chap. xiii.

57. v.5. The text has been commonly brought forward by Roman Catholic commentators to justify the capital punishment of heretics in the Church. p.849.

v.6. Michaelis observes that the omissions in this enumeration seem to imply that no one was bound to impeach father, mother, or husband. p.849.

v.12,13. In this duty, *essential as it was to the very existence of the Mosaic commonwealth*, city was to keep jealous watch over city, as man over man. p.850.

Ans. We do not find a single instance of either of these commands being carried out. They are manifestly like those which denounce wholesale extermination on the Canaanites, only *symbolical* (II.883-6, VI.603)—the Canaanites being taken as a standing type of all idolaters, the rebellious son (xxi.18-21) of rebellious Israel, &c. and these injunctions expressing the writer's own burning zeal and indignation against the different classes of sins in question, without any expectation—or even (we may believe) desire—that they should be actually carried out in practice.

Chap. xiv.

58. v.3-21. The restrictions laid down are substantially repeated from the parallel passages of Leviticus, but not without noteworthy variation. Three

classes of creatures are here referred to, quadrupeds, fishes, and fowls; a fourth class, reptiles, is omitted, though carefully dealt with in L.xi.29,30, where eight species of it are forbidden: on the other hand, the locust and certain other insects are enumerated as clean, L.xi.22, but are not named in this chapter. Both omissions are probably to be explained by the time and circumstances of the speaker. The reptiles of the Promised Land, into which the people were about to enter, were not such as they would be likely to think of eating; whilst the locusts and the other insects, allowed as food in the earlier book, and probably of occasional importance as such in the wilderness, could be of but small account to those who had their fields and vineyards in Canaan. The example of John the Baptist (St.Matt.iii.4) shows us of itself that the omission of locusts from the list of clean animals in this place was not supposed to exclude them. So, too, in v.19, 'every creeping thing that flieth' is simply forbidden; and the qualification of L.xi.20, that such of this class as 'have legs above their feet to leap' may nevertheless be eaten, is omitted. On the border of the Promised Land, and in * repetition of laws which he desired particularly to impress, this permission is passed over as of no moment. Here, too, the kinds of clean quadrupeds are specified by name as well as in general characteristics, obviously because the diet of the people would for the future mainly be drawn from this class. In L.xi.3, &c. *whilst they had yet many years of life in the desert before them*, it was enough to lay down the law as regards quadrupeds in general terms. p.850.

Ans. In L.xi.3, &c. they had *not* 'many years of life in the desert before them,' but expected to enter Canaan at once, without the long delay caused by the ban in N.xiv. And here we have *Moses* correcting a list which 'Jehovah spake unto Moses and Aaron,' L.xi.1, and which was expressly intended by Divine Wisdom for immediate use in the Promised Land by those who should have 'their fields and vineyards in Canaan'!

This law in D.xiv is, in fact, the earlier law, as appears from L.xi supplying its omissions, as above stated, by prohibiting the use of 'reptiles,' and allowing 'locusts' to be eaten, thus qualifying the too general prohibition of D.xiv.19.

59. v.21. *ye shall not eat of anything that dieth of itself: thou shalt give it unto the stranger that is in thy gates, that he may eat it, or thou mayest sell it unto an alien.*] The prohibition is repeated from L.xxii.8; the directions as to the disposal of the carcase are peculiar to D. . . . The permissions now for the first time granted would have been useless in the wilderness. During the 40 years' wandering there could be but little opportunity of selling such carcasses; whilst non-Israelites living in the Camp would in such a matter be bound by the same rules as the Israelites. . . .

It would seem, on comparing this verse with L.xvii.15, that greater stringency is here given to the requirement of abstinence from that which had died of itself. In the earlier book the eating of such flesh involved merely uncleanness until the evening; here it is absolutely interdicted. Probably, on this as on so many other

points, allowance was made for the circumstances of the people. Flesh meat was, no doubt, often scarce in the desert. It would therefore have been a hardship to forbid entirely the use of that which had not been killed. Now, however, when the plenty of the Promised Land was before them, the modified toleration of this unholy food is withdrawn. p.851.

Ans. On the contrary, the stringency in respect of the eating of such food is gradually relaxed.

In E.xxii.31 (O.S.), written for the people, as the law of the Covenant between Jehovah and Israel, when they are supposed to be soon about to enter Canaan, such carcases are to be given to the dogs.

In D.xiv.21, they are to be given to the stranger—*i.e.* the ‘uncircumcised proselyte’ or ‘proselyte of the gate,’ p.851—or sold to the alien.

In L.xvii.15 (L.L.) any Israelite—except priests, L.xxii.8—might eat such flesh, but must wash his clothes and bathe his person and ‘be unclean until the evening.’

60. v.22. *thou shalt truly tithe all the increase of thy seed.*] These words recall in general terms the command of the earlier legislation respecting tithes, L.xxvii. 30, N.xviii.27, but refer more particularly to the *second* or festival tithe, which was *an exclusively vegetable one*. One computation of the increase of the field would, of course, serve for both the Levitical tithe of L.xxvii. so far as it consisted of that increase, and for the other tithe to be applied to the feasts of the Sanctuary, or in each third year at home, as directed in this passage, v.28,29. One tenth would belong to the Levites, the second tenth would remain at the disposal of the land-owner for the purposes so earnestly commended to him in D.xii.6,7, 17–20, and in this passage. . . . The *tithes* are only named here in passing, as are also the *firstlings*, in order to introduce certain directions respecting the sacred meals which were celebrated out of them. p.851.

Ans. This notion of a ‘second’ tithe, like that of a ‘third’ tithe, which Mr.ESPIN rejects (61)—is a mere fiction of the later Jews, in order to evade the manifest contradiction which exists between this passage—*comp.* v.28,29, where the tithes (or their value) are to be consumed in feasting by the offerer and his household, which is to be shared with ‘the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, and the *Levite*’—and the law of the L.L. in N.xviii.21–24, which assigns these tithes entirely to the Levites.

That the ‘Levitical tithe’ was ‘an exclusively vegetable tithe’ is plain from N.x.37, ‘the tithes of our ground unto the Levites,’ *comp.* v.38, where ‘the tithe of these tithes’ is to be brought-up for the priests to the Temple ‘into the chambers of the store-house,’ which manifestly excludes sheep and oxen, and so xiii.5,12, distinctly speaks of the ‘tithes of corn, new-wine, and oil for the Levites’—from all which we may infer that L.xxvii.32, which speaks of the ‘tithe of the herd or of the flock’ must be a very late insertion of the L.L. And that D. is here speaking of these same *first* and

only tithes is evident from the fact that he nowhere gives the least hint of any other tithes, and couples these with the 'firstlings,' v.23, which were also to be consumed in the same way in feasting, though expressly assigned wholly to the *priests* in N.xviii.15-18. These 'tithes,' which D. would have spent in a charitable feast, two years together at the Sanctuary and the third year at home, to which all needy persons round, not forgetting or 'forsaking' the Levite, were in later days appropriated to the Levites as the firstlings were to the priests.

61. v.28,29. It is only necessary to observe here that the tithe thus directed in the third year to be dispensed in charity at home, though called by the Jewish authorities 'the third tithe,' was not paid in addition to that in other years bestowed on the sacred meals, but was substituted for it. This is plainly implied in the text. The three years would count from the Sabbatical year, and Moses accordingly goes on to legislate in reference to that important year in the beginning of the next chapter. *In the Sabbatical year there would, of course, be neither payment of tithe nor celebration of the feasts at the Sanctuary.* In the third and sixth years of the septennial cycle the feasts would be superseded by the private hospitality enjoined in the verses before us. p.852.

Ans. If no tithes were paid in the Sabbatical year, what did the *Levites* live upon, as they could not leave their Temple duties, and scatter themselves all over the land to gather food for themselves in the sabbath-keeping fields? D., however, says nothing about the Sabbatical year being kept as a year of rest, either for the crops, as in E.xxiii.11, or for the land, as in L.xxv.1-7, see (62) below: he merely orders the seventh year to be a 'year of release' for slaves and debtors.

Probably in the passage before us he leaves the offerer to begin his cycle of three years at his own pleasure, so that, in *all* years there would be feasting going on upon 'the third year's tithe'—N.B. 'all the tithe,' v.28, on which Mr.ESPIN notes without any authority for it, 'i.e. the second tithe,' p.852—at different places in the land, to which the poor and needy and the Levites might resort.

Chap. xv.

62. v.1-11. The Year of Release is *no doubt identical with* the Sabbatical Year of the earlier legislation, E.xxiii.10, &c., L.xxv.2, &c.; the word 'release' of this passage being indeed fundamentally the same word as is used in reference to the land, E.xxiii.11. The command of the older legislation is here *amplified* (!). Not only is the land to have its 'release' or 'rest' for the year, but the debt also.

The obvious reference of this passage to that of Exodus seems to render it most probable, in spite of a consensus of Jewish authorities to the contrary, that the release in question must have been for the year, not total and final. As the land

was during this year to keep sabbath, so the debt was to stand over; but neither of the one nor the other would the usufruct be lost in perpetuity to the owner.

It seems further clear that the release had reference only to loans, *v.2*, and to loans lent because of poverty, *v.4,7*. Apparently, therefore, a debt contracted, *e.g.* by purchase of goods, would not come under this law. It would seem, however, notwithstanding these qualifications, and the fact that the release did not extend at all to foreigners, that the law was found too stringent for the avarice of the people. . . . A gloss attributed to Hillel permitted the judges to authorise a creditor to enforce his claim even during the Year of Release. This fact, as well as the references in the later books to the Year of Release and the laws associated with it, shows that the ordinances of Moses now before us were sufficiently well understood, though *too much disregarded in the later days of the Jewish commonwealth*, Is.lxi.1,2, Jer. xxxiv.8-17. *p.853.*

Ans. Where is there the slightest sign that these laws were in force 'in the earlier days of the Jewish commonwealth'?

It is *possible* that the Later Isaiah, towards the end of the Captivity, may be referring to the 'Year of Release' in Is.lxi.1,2; but this is very doubtful, since he speaks of 'proclaiming the acceptable year of Jehovah and the *day of vengeance* of our God'; and it is not easy to see what such a 'day of vengeance' has to do with the 'Year of Release': it rather seems to correspond with Jeremiah's 'year of visitation,' xi.23, xxiii.12, xlviii.44, which appears elsewhere as '*time of their visitation*,' viii.12, x.15, l.27, li.18, and in xlv.21 as the '*day of their calamity*.'

So, too, Jer.xxxiv.8-17 does not refer at all to the 'Year of Release' and remission of debts, D.xv.1-11, but to the manumission of slaves, *v.12*, 'in the seventh year,' *i.e.* as he distinctly explains it 'when he has served six years,' *comp.* Jer.xxxiv.14, and therefore certainly *not* in the 'Year of Release' at all. And so, indeed, Mr.ESPIN says—

The release of the servant is connected with the Sabbatical *principle*, though not with the Sabbatical *year*. That release was to take place after six years of bondage in all cases. The injunction is introduced here only because it is, like that of the Sabbatical Year, one of those designed for the benefit of the poor. *p.854.*

Jeremiah, in fact, is referring to *his own language* in D.xv.12, &c., which repeats the more ancient law of E.xxi.2 in somewhat different terms (VI.357).

As to the 'Year of Release,' it is, no doubt, based upon the older command in E.xxiii.10,11, which orders that the *crops* shall be allowed to 'rest' in the seventh year, and not be gathered in, so that the poor and the beasts might eat their fill, but not (as the L.L. absurdly misunderstands it in L.xxv.1-7) that the *land* shall rest and be untilled, and the vines be left unpruned. D., however, says nothing whatever about the crops or the land

'having its release or rest': but finding, no doubt, this command of the O.S. utterly neglected, he drops the original notion altogether, or rather he prescribes that *the tithe of each year*, instead of *the whole produce of the seventh year*, shall be shared by the offerer and his family with the poor. With that tenderness of heart, however, which marks his (Jeremiah's) character, he lays down here the injunction that every seventh year all loans shall be forgiven, and manifestly he intends the release to be full and final, since v.10,11 speaks of 'giving,' not 'lending,' and, indeed, a debt which had been owing for six years, as some of these might be, and was remitted in the seventh, would hardly be enforced afterwards. Whether he ever expected such a rule to be actually carried out in practice, is another question. Indeed, the indistinctness of the direction in v.1, 'At the end of seven years,' whereas there is no indication when the seven years are to begin, implies that the command is more theoretical than practical. And the same is probably implied by the limitation in v.4, 'except when there shall be no poor among thee,' i.e. not (as Mr.ESPIN explains) 'when there is no poor person concerned,' p.853, but 'when the poor shall altogether cease in Israel, for Jehovah shall greatly bless thee, &c.,' and, when this happy time comes, you may claim your debts, there need be no further 'Year of Release.' There is no real inconsistency, as Mr.ESPIN justly observes, p.853, between this and v.11, 'for the poor will not cease out of the land,' i.e. for the present, at all events, whatever may be the case in the future. But the Deuteronomist's words in this passage might at least suggest to some pious hearts the release of such debts, v.1-6, and the 'opening of the hand,' v.7-11, towards their indigent brethren.

63. v.2. *because it is called the Lord's release,*] render *because proclamation has been made of the Lord's release*. The verb is impersonal, and implies that 'the solemnity of the year of release,' xxxi.10, has been publicly announced. p.853.

Ans. There is no command for such a proclamation, and no sign of its having ever been made: but D. might very reasonably assume that it *would* be proclaimed, if Josiah and the people should determine to keep this law.

64. v.3. *of a foreigner thou mayest exact it.*] The foreigner would not be bound by the restriction of the Sabbatical Year, and therefore would have no claim to its special remissions and privileges. He could earn his usual income in the seventh as in other years, and therefore is not exonerated from liability to discharge a debt any more in the one than the others. p.853.

Ans. It is certainly a strange idea, that Hebrew *tradesmen* of all kinds and foreigners however employed would be pursuing their callings as usual during the Sabbatical year, while Hebrew *farmers* and *farm-labourers* would be obliged to sit idly by, folding their hands and doing nothing all the year,

but letting their land be overrun with weeds and their vines with rank growth!

The distinction here made between the treatment of a 'brother' and a 'foreigner' is obviously made merely from a Jewish point of view.

65. v.19-23. The directions of the preceding legislation (N.xviii.15, &c.) are here assumed. . . . The application of the firstborn of cattle is here directed as in xii.6,17, xiv.23: they are to be consumed in the sacred feasts at the Sanctuary.

It has been pointed out that the flesh of the firstlings is given to the priest, N.xviii.18, whilst in the passage before us, as in xii.6,17, xiv.23, the same flesh is assigned as the wherewithal for the sacred feasts which the offerer and his household were to celebrate at the Sanctuary.

The inconsistency is apparent only. N.xviii.18, in assigning the priests' portion, prescribes as regards the firstborn, 'the flesh of them shall be thine, as the wave-breast and right shoulder [leg] are thine,' *i.e.* shall be thine on the like terms and conditions as the wave-breast and right shoulder [leg] are so. . . . The flesh of the firstlings was to be disposed of by the priests in the same manner as the wave-breast and heave-shoulder [leg.] The appropriation of these, the priest's portions, is seen from L.vii.15,16. They were to be employed in a sacrificial feast, which had to be held on the day of the making of the offering or on the next day, and of course at the Sanctuary. In the case of the firstlings, *the priests would have the whole of the victim* to consume thus at once, and at certain seasons no doubt many victims at once. Under these circumstances the priest *would naturally invite the offerers to partake in the feast*, for which such abundant provision was made, and indeed would feel it a duty to do so. The presentation of the firstlings is spoken of as a sacrifice, E.xiii.15; and a sacrificial meal on the flesh of the victim, in which the offerer and those associated with him partook, was an established part of the system and ritual of sacrifice. In the case of the firstborn where *all the flesh was the perquisite of the priests*, the offerer could only have his share in such meal on the invitation of the priests—an invitation which we may be sure would never be withheld, and which is regarded in the text accordingly as a matter of course, *if not of right*.

We must remember that the expectation of sharing in the feast on the firstlings would tend to encourage their being regularly brought in by the people, and that *under no circumstances would the priests be allowed to sell any portion of them*. Any flesh of such offerings remaining till the third day had to be burnt, L.vii.17.

It is to be noted too that Moses in the text is addressing the whole people—priests, Levites, and laity. *The general direction, then, that the firstlings should be brought to the Sanctuary and there consumed in a sacred meal, seems on the whole sufficiently accordant with the earlier legislation on the same offerings.* p.855.

Ans. It is much to be regretted that the traditionary view should be supported by such special pleading as the above.

In the first place Mr.ESPIN contradicts himself. Here he says that 'under

no circumstances would the priests be allowed to sell any portion of them (the firstlings).’ But on p.844 he tells us (53) that ‘commutation was extended to *any* or *all* of the offerings enumerated’ in D.xii.6, including the ‘tithes’ and also the ‘*firstlings*.’ Again here he says ‘Moses in the text is addressing the whole people, *priests, Levites, and laity*.’ But on p.798 he writes (*Intr.*31)—

He is addressing *the people*, and, when he has occasion to mention the clergy, it is only in a general way, in reference broadly to their relations and duties towards the body of the nation.

Nor does he notice that L.vii.17, to which he refers, is distinctly at variance with xix.6–8.

As to the main point, however, whereas D. says, ‘Thou mayest not eat within thy gates the tithe of thy corn or of thy wine or of thy oil, or *the firstlings of thy herds or of thy flocks* . . . but thou must eat them before *Jehovah* thy Elohim, in the place which Jehovah thy Elohim shall choose, *thou and thy son and thy daughter, thy manservant and thy maidservant, and the Levite that is within thy gates*—take heed that thou forsake not the Levite,’ xii.17–19, Mr.ESPIN says that this means that ‘the priests would have the whole’ of the firstlings, ‘all the flesh was the perquisite of the priests,’ but they—

would naturally invite the offerers to partake in the feast, and indeed would feel it a duty to do so—the offerer could only have his share on the invitation of the priests, an invitation which we are sure would never be withheld!

D. says that the offerer is to invite the Levites, and this means that the Levites would be sure to invite the offerer and his family and dependants!

But D. repeats the very same direction with regard to the firstlings in xiv.23–27 *with the permission to ‘turn them into money,’* and carry it up to the Sanctuary for the feast, which ‘*thou*—N.B. the offerer, not the Levites—shalt bestow for oxen or sheep or wine or strong drink or whatsoever thy soul desireth, and eat there before Jehovah, and rejoice, thou and thine household, and the Levite that is within thy gates, thou shalt not forsake him,’ and again in xv.19,20. And all this must give way before the necessity of maintaining the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch!

Chap. xvi.

66. v.1. Moses continues in this chapter the review of the religious ordinances to be observed by the people in Canaan. Prominent among these were the three great festivals, of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles. The regulations respecting them given in the earlier books (E.xii, L.xxiii, N.xxviii, xxix) are assumed, and the feasts themselves touched upon only so far as present circum-

stances required. The treatment throughout presupposes the hearers to be well informed as to the ordinances in question, and only needing to have their attention drawn to certain particulars as to which reiteration might seem advisable or *changes called for*. p.856.

Ans. *Changes* in a Divine ordinance like that of the Passover and Feast of Mazzoth, given with special reference to their settlement in Canaan, E.xii.25, xiii.5-10!

The fact is that D. refers only to the directions for the three Great Feasts in E.xxiii.14-17 (O.S.) and his own insertions, E.xiii.3-10, xxxiv.18,22,23, and shows not the slightest sign of acquaintance, on the part of himself or his hearers, with the regulations respecting them given in E.xii, L.xxiii, N.xxviii,xxix, from which in fact his data materially differ, a circumstance which Mr.ESPIN explains by supposing that 'changes were called for.'

67. The cardinal point on which the whole of the prescriptions here before us turn is evidently the same as has been so often insisted on in the previous chapters, *viz.* the concentration of the religious services of the people round one common Sanctuary, v.2,6,7,11,15,16. Hence it is easy to see why nothing is here said of the other holy days. No doubt, the Great Day of Atonement, L.xxiii.26, &c. and the Feast of Trumpets, v.23, &c. are as positively *enjoined by Moses*—[N.B. '*Jehovah* spake unto Moses,' L.xxiii.23,26]—as are the three Festivals mentioned in the present chapter; but it was no part of the observances of either of those days that all the males should 'appear before the Lord.' Those days might be regularly observed by the faithful without the necessity of their going to the central Sanctuary for the purpose, and so could furnish no occasion for enforcing that peculiar and leading topic of Deuteronomy, the observance of a national and visible unity in faith and worship. p.856.

Ans. Certainly the omission of all mention of the 'Feast of Trumpets' and 'Great Day of Atonement' in this chapter, where D. confines himself to the three Great Feasts, at which all males were to appear at the Sanctuary, does not *prove* that he knew nothing about them. But it agrees fully with the fact, which has been abundantly proved, that these two were entirely institutions of the L.L., upon which quite as much stress is laid in L.xxiii, N.xxviii,xxix, as on the three ancient festivals (VI.431, 432).

68. v.2. *sacrifice the passover.*] *i.e.* offer the sacrifices proper to the feast of the Passover, which lasted seven days. . . . The passover itself in the strictest sense was a lamb or kid; but the slaying of this on the fourteenth day of the month at even was but the inauguration of a large number of sacrifices appointed for the days following, N.xxviii.17-24, 2Ch.xxxv.7. These sacrifices, strictly the passover-offerings (*happesachim*), were often by the Jews epoken of, together with the paschal lamb that inaugurated them, as simply the Pascha or Passover.

Now the passover in the narrowest sense, *i.e.* the lamb or kid, had to be consumed on the first evening, v.4. That, therefore, with which they were to eat

unleavened bread seven days is the passover in the wider sense, the paschal offerings which continued to be offered throughout the week. Hence the direction to 'sacrifice the passover of the flock and the herd,' *i.e.* of small cattle and *oxen*, is no variation of the ordinance of E.xii.5. . . . In v.4^b,5-7, Moses passes, as the context again shows, into the narrower sense of the word Passover. p.857.

Ans. v.4^b,5-7, plainly refers to the Passover properly so called, and there is no sign that D. has used the word '*pesach*' in a different sense in v.1,2. No doubt, in N.xxviii.17-24 special sacrifices on behalf of the whole community are appointed for the Feast of Mazzoth, *viz.* each day for seven days 2 bullocks, 1 ram, 7 lambs, 1 goat, *comp.* Ez.xlv.21-24; and in 2Ch.xxxv.7 Josiah gives the people 30,000 lambs and kids '*for pesachim,*' and also 3,000 *bullocks*, as BERTHEAU says 'for thank offerings,' on which the people were to feast, *comp.* v.8,9. But these latter are expressly distinguished from the *pesach* in v.11,12, and in v.13,14. In short, nowhere in the Bible is the word *pesach* used of any other sacrifices than the victims killed at sunset on the first day of the Feast of Mazzoth, and eaten that night. And it cannot be supposed that D. would here bid them 'keep the *pesach*,' v.1, 'sacrifice the *pesach*,' v.2, with 'sheep and oxen,' if the Law had strictly enjoined 'lambs and kids' to be exclusively used for the special sacrifice of this *pesach*.

This is one point, then, in respect of which D.'s idea of the *pesach* differs from that of the L.L. According to him, the *pesach* was to be sacrificed (or slain) of the flock and herd, instead of being restricted, as in E.xii.3, to a lamb or a kid. And this direction following *immediately after* xv.19-23, which orders that 'the firstling males of the herd and of the flock' shall be eaten before Jehovah '*year by year,*' by the offerer and his household, in the place which Jehovah would choose, suggests the possibility that on his view the ceremony of the *pesach* was to be kept annually by means of these very firstlings, the dedication of which is closely connected with the march out of Egypt, E.xiii.11-16, as is the celebration of the *pesach* in D.xvi.1-3.

69. v.7. *thou shalt roast*] *lit. thou shalt cook it.* The word *bashal* means generally to prepare food for cooking. *Ordinarily it is applied to boiling*; but it may be used, as here and in 2Ch.xxxv.13, of roasting also. *The previous rules about the Passover being assumed,* no Jew would think of cooking it in any other way than by fire. p.857.

Ans. But 'the previous rules about the Passover *not* being assumed'—in other words, if the L.L. was not yet written—of course 'no Jew would think of cooking it' *except by boiling*, which is 'ordinarily' the meaning of this word, and indeed invariably (VI.360), though the Chronicler tries to reconcile the directions in D.xvi.7 and E.xii.9, by using the phrase בָּשַׁל בָּאֵשׁ, *lit.* 'boil with fire,' as equivalent to 'roast,' and in opposition to בָּשַׁל בַּמַּיִם, 'boil with water,' E.xii.9.

This is a second point in respect of which the *pesach* according to D. differs from that of the L.L. He supposes the pieces of the victims to be 'boiled,' as usual for the sacrificial feast, E.xxix.31, L.vi.28, viii.31, N.vi.19, 1S.ii.13, 15, Ez.xlvi.20,24, Zech.xiv.21, especially Ez.xlvi.20, and 1K.xix.21, 2K.vi.29, Lam.iv.10. But the L.L. expressly orders the Passover victim to be roasted, and not eaten *raw* * nor *boiled*, E.xii.9.

70. v.7. *thou shalt turn in the morning and go unto thy tents,*] i.e. after the Paschal Supper in the courts or neighbourhood of the Sanctuary was over, they might disperse to their several lodgings. p.857.

Ans. This direction, which assumes that the people ate the *pesach* at the Sanctuary, and passed the night there, and 'went to their tents in the morning,' is a third point, in respect of which D. departs entirely from the law of the L.L. in E.xii.21-23, where the *pesach* was to be eaten at the different homes, and none was to go out of his house until the morning, which law, moreover, was expressly intended to be acted upon in the Promised Land, v.25.

And a fourth point is this, which Mr.ESPIN does not notice, viz. that, according to D., on the *seventh* day of the Paschal feast (Feast of Mazzoth) there was to be a solemn assembly and no work done, v.8, but nothing is said about such meeting or cessation from work on the first day; rather he sends them home on the *morning* of the first day (which began the previous evening) to do what they liked in the daytime, after stopping at the Sanctuary all night. But the L.L. appoints a 'holy convocation' for the first day as well as the seventh, 'no manner of work shall be done in them,' E.xii.16, L.xxiii.7,8, N.xxviii.18,25.

71. v.9-12,13-17. Feast of Weeks and Feast of Tabernacles. As regards these holy seasons nothing is here added to the rules given in Leviticus and Numbers, except the clauses so often recurring in Deuteronomy, and so characteristic of it, which restrict the public celebration of the festivals to the Sanctuary, and enjoin that the enjoyments of them should be extended to the *Levites*, widows, orphans, &c. p.857.

* Why does the L.L. expressly forbid the *pesach* being eaten *raw*? And why does D. lay stress on its being *cooked* (boiled), xvi.7, which he does not in the case of any other sacrifices eaten by the offerers? May it be that at the *pesach*, where in all probability human firstborne as well as animal firstlings were offered by the Canaanites, whose practice was copied by the Hebrews (VI.369), the fragments of flesh were actually at one time eaten *raw*? 'Even down to the latest times of Grecian culture, the Greeks themselves ate flesh, raw and bleeding, at the feasts of *Dionysus* (= *YAHVE*); and this shows sufficiently that the same thing occurred *a fortiori* among the Phœnicians.' GHILLANY, p.533.

Ans. Here, again, the Levite is in both places classed with the poor and needy, 'the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow,' v.11,14; and it is difficult to see why D. should do this, unless the Levites were generally in poor circumstances in his time, and how they could be so poor, if they had the abundant provisions of the L.L., *i.e.* $\frac{1}{10}$ of the agricultural produce (Mr. ESPIN says 'animal produce' also) of 600,000 male adult Israelites = the whole produce of 60,000, for themselves and *their families*, to be shared by 23,000 Levite males of all ages 'from a month and upward,' in N.xxvi.62, and as many females?

72. v.9. *begin to number the weeks from such time as thou beginnest to put the sickle to the corn*] *i.e.* from the beginning of corn-harvest. This could not be until the presentation of the firstfruits of the new harvest before God on 'the morrow after the sabbath' in the Passover week, *i.e.* the sixteenth of Nisan; and accordingly the 50 days were counted from this 'beginning of the sickle to the corn' or lawful commencement of harvest, on the second of the seven days of unleavened bread. p.857.

Ans. They were so 'counted' by the laws of the L.L. after the Captivity: but there is no sign that D. wished to define in this way the exact day when his 'seven weeks' should commence: he leaves the time for the Feast of Weeks (Harvest) and Feast of Tabernacles (Ingathering) just as vague as in the original notice of the O.S., E.xxiii.16, *comp.* xxxiv.22 (D), and they were probably in his view to be determined by the season.

Mr.ESPIN, however, has not noticed the discrepancy that, according to D., the Feast of Tabernacles was to be kept for seven days, v.13,15, *comp.* 1K.viii.65,66, Ez.xlv.25; whereas the L.L. adds a 'holy convocation' on the *eighth* day as well as the first, L.xxiii.35,36,39, N.xxix.12,35, *comp.* 2Ch.vii.8-10, Neh.viii.18 (VI.431, VII.31,37).

73. v.21. *thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees*] *render thou shalt not plant for thee any tree as an idol, lit.* 'as an Asherah,' *i.e.* an image of Astarte or Ashtaroth, the Phœnician goddess. The word is rendered 'groves' by A.V. also in vii.5, xii.3, E.xxxiv.13, Ju.vi.25. This rendering is adopted after LXX, Saad., and many ancient authorities, but cannot be maintained; for the word is connected with various verbs (*e.g.* to 'make,' to 'set up' or 'erect,' to 'build'), which are quite inapplicable to a grove. The wooden idol in question was the stem of a tree, stripped of its boughs, set upright in the ground, and rudely carved with emblems. p.858.

Ans. In all probability the 'ashera' was a *phallus*, *Mov. Phôn.* I.568-570 (V.342,note).

Chap. xvii.

74. v.1. *any evil-favouredness*] *render any evil thing.* The reference is to the faults or maims enumerated in L.xxii.22-24. p.859.

Ans. Rather the reference is to '*such* faults as are enumerated in L.xxii. 22-24': there is no allusion whatever to this passage itself.

75. v.2-7. The detection and punishment of idolatry, as leading duties of the magistrate, are again enjoined with special reference to the legal forms to be adopted, v.5-7. . . . It is quite in keeping with the time and circumstances of Deuteronomy that we should find here the expression 'unto the gates' instead of the 'without the camp' of the earlier books, L.xxiv.14, N.xv.35. p.859.

Ans. The reference to the worship of the 'host of heaven' in v.3 betrays the later origin of this book (21), and the whole passage only expresses D.'s detestation of idolatry. The only place in the earlier books where the expression 'within thy gates' occurs, which is so common in D., is E.xx.10, while the Israelites were under Sinai, which passage, however, belongs also to D. (VI.217).

76. v.8-13. The Supreme Court is referred to in very general terms as sitting at the Sanctuary, v.8, and as consisting of 'the priests, the Levites, and the judge that shall be in those days,' v.9. 'The judge' would, no doubt, usually be a layman, and thus the Court would contain both an ecclesiastical and a civil element. . . . Jehoshaphat, when he 'brought the people back unto the Lord God of their fathers,' organised his judicial system very closely upon the lines here laid down. He set 'judges in the land throughout all the fenced cities of Judah,' *i.e.* local courts, as is enjoined in D.xvi.18, and appointed the chief priest and 'Zebadiah the son of Ishmael, the ruler of the house of Judah,' to be a central and supreme court at Jerusalem. p.859.

Ans. The account of the Chronicler is thoroughly untrustworthy, with its distinction of 'priests' and 'Levites': the Book of Kings knows nothing about this Court: it is probably a mere fiction, based upon the name Jehoshaphat = 'Jehovah judges.'

No doubt, in the later days of the kingdom of Judah, the leading priests, such as Hilkiah during Josiah's youth, held an important position in Jerusalem, though very different from that ascribed to them in the L.L., and discharged the higher judicial duties. David, however, 2S.viii.15, and Solomon, 1K.iii.9,16-28, judged in their own persons or by their representatives, and would have been very unlikely to refer all difficult matters to 'the priests the Levites,' who stand very low in the lists of the chief officials, 2S.viii.16-18, 1K.iv.1-6. See also Mic.iii.11, Zeph.iii.3,4, where the 'judges' and 'priests' are clearly distinguished.

D., however, in this passage, does not seem to have had in his mind any regular 'Court' at all, *comp.* 'the judge that shall be in those days,' v.9, and especially v.12, 'the priest or the judge.' In fact, if he had such a Court in view, he would be referring to it here as *already existing*, whereas no hint of the kind is given in the history. As Mr. ESPIN says—

The language is, in truth, more that of one alluding to customs and institutions already existing and well known, than of one founding new ones by legislation. p.863.

77. v.18. *a copy of this law.*] The A.V. reproduces exactly the sense of the Hebrew, and the expression is generally and correctly explained as importing *the whole Pentateuch* or at any rate *the legal portion of the Pentateuch*. A knowledge of Exodus and the two following books would indeed be even more essential to the King than that of Deuteronomy, which is to so great an extent a hortatory comment on them and supplement to them. The LXX renders τὸ δευτερονόμιον τοῦτο, and the Vulg. Deuteronomium legis hujus. p.861.

Ans. Most probably D. meant the original Book of Deuteronomy, viz. v--xxvi, xxviii,xxix.1 (VI.28). He makes some allusions to the history and legislation of the O.S., but nowhere 'comments' upon or 'supplements,' or shows the slightest knowledge of, the laws of the L.L. 'in Exodus and the two following books.'

78. v.14-17. This passage is one of the most important amongst these brought forward by certain critics as proof that Deuteronomy was not written until the time of the later kings. The position assumed by these critics (*e.g.* VATER, DE WETTE, VON BOHLEN, EWALD, RIRER, COLENSE, &c. and even WINER) may be thus stated. p.863.

Ans. As far as I am concerned, this passage is not by any means '*one of the most important amongst those brought forward to prove that Deuteronomy was not written until the time of the later kings.*' I have merely said (III.712) that '*such a passage as that before us may very well have been written in the age of Josiah, and by the hand of such a prophet as Jeremiah,*' i.e. it rather *confirms* the conclusion in question than '*proves*' it, the conclusion itself being based on far more decisive grounds. I must refer to (III.709-712, VI.377) for the arguments in question, noticing here only some prominent passages in Mr.ESPIN's reply to them.

79. Even if we exclude from the question Moses' supernatural gifts, he may very probably have contemplated such a contingency as Israel wishing at some time or other for a king. . . . Neither is the passage before us the only one of the Pentateuch in which allusion seems to be made to kings of Israel, G.xvii.16, xxxvi. 31, xlix.10, E.xxii.28, N.xxiv.17, D.xxviii.36. p.863.

Ans. Doubtless Moses might 'have contemplated such a contingency.' But all the above passages (except the last) belong all to E. or the O.S., written (on our view) after Israel had a king.

80. A direct and formal quotation of an earlier book in a later is not at all in the manner of the Old Testament writers. Yet the request of the people, 'Make us a king to judge us like all the nations,' 1S.viii.5, is preferred in terms very like those employed in D.xvii.14. Is the resemblance accidental? It is hard to think so,

when we find Samuel, in presenting Saul to the people as 'him whom the Lord hath chosen,' 1S.x.24, employing again the words of this verse of Deuteronomy; and in his exhortation, 1S.xii.14, reproducing the tone, phraseology, and rhetorical accumulation of clauses which are characteristic features of Deuteronomy. It is therefore too much to say that no allusion to the passage of Deuteronomy before us can be found in 1S.viii.-xii. *p.*864.

Ans. 1S.viii.6-20, x.8,18,19,25*, xii.1-25, 'reproducing the tone, phraseology, and rhetorical accumulation of phrases which are characteristic features of Deuteronomy,' belong all to D. (VII.72); and the expressions in D.xvii.14 are based upon those in 1S.viii.5, x.24, of the older narrative.

81. Neither is it correct to assume that Samuel condemned the demand for a king as in itself a sin. . . . When we duly note that God enjoined Samuel 'to hearken to the voice of the people in all that they say,' 1S.viii.7,22, it is not possible to regard the demand in question as one which the sacred writer thought absolutely wicked. . . . It was not the mere desire of a king which is blamed, but the time and circumstances under which that desire was manifested. . . . The people desired to set aside Samuel . . . and upon a pretext, 'Behold! thou art old,' 1S.viii.5, which can hardly have been sincere, seeing that Samuel lived to take a leading part in public affairs for some 35 years afterwards. *p.*864.

Ans. In the older narrative, 1S.viii.1-5,21,22, there is no sign whatever that the demand for a king was regarded as a sin. But the Deuteronomistic passage, 1S.viii.7, 'they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected Me, that I should not reign over them,' clearly implies such a reproach, *comp.* also x.19, xii.17,19. It is incredible that the people, if they had been really so reproached, should not have appealed to D.xvii.14-20, if it really existed as part of the Mosaic Law: though it is very intelligible that D. would hardly wish to make Samuel or the people appeal to words which he himself had written (VII.130).

82. The similarity between our passage of Deuteronomy and 1K.x.26-29, xi.1-5, cannot be gainsayed. The only open (literary) question is whether the writer of Deuteronomy had the passage of Kings before him, or the writer of Kings that of Deuteronomy. The broad reasons on which we decide for the latter alternative are set out in the Introduction. Here we may note that it is clear that the writer of 1Kings had in view not only D.xvii. but also D.vii.3,4, and E.xxxiv.16. *p.*864.

Ans. If the writer of the Books of Kings was himself the Deuteronomist (or Jeremiah),—see (*Intr.*23)—it is very natural that there should be a close resemblance between 1K.x.26-29, xi.1-5, and D.vii.3,4, xvii.14-20, and also E.xxxiv.16, which belongs to D. (VI.253).

83. The allegation, that the restrictions laid on the supposed King by D. reflect the ideas of a later age, is simply arbitrary. The excesses forbidden to the King of Israel were those in which Eastern potentates were wont to indulge. *p.*864.

Ans. Certainly: but they are precisely the points on which the very *same* writer lays particular stress in his account of Solomon's doings, 1K.x. 26-29, xi.1-4, probably greatly exaggerated (VII.48), and consequently there is a presumption that he had those doings in view in penning this passage.

84. After the glorious reigns of David, Solomon, and others, the building of the Temple, and the long annals of Israel as an independent nation, it would have been preposterous to mention such a thing as replanting the Jews in Egypt. *p.*864.

Ans. Yet it is precisely what *Jeremiah* does. Not only does he condemn severely the Kings of Judah in his days for going down again to Egypt for help, ii.18,36,—which seems to be all that is intended in D.xvii.16, 'nor cause the people to return to Egypt, that he may multiply horses,' but he expressly protests against the remnant of the people at the beginning of the Captivity 'returning' to Egypt to dwell there. And it is possible that even in an earlier age, as in the first days of Josiah, terror at the advancing might of Assyria and the sense of the utter inability of Israel to resist it, may have influenced many to think of taking refuge in Egypt under the protection of the Pharaohs; though this is not needed to explain the meaning of the passage before us.

85. Equally absurd would it have been in the days of the later kings to forbid the choice of an alien as a king. No one would have thought of such an appointment whilst the seed royal was prolific in both its branches. *p.*864.

Ans. It would have been 'absurd' for *Moses* to have forbidden the choice of an alien. How should the Israelites dream of doing so? In short, the argument, such as it is, is of about equal weight on either side of the controversy. The words probably indicate merely the patriotic spirit of the writer.

The remainder of Mr.ESPIN's remarks on this subject on *p.*863-5, do not seem to need any special notice.

Chap. xviii.

86. *v.1. the priests the Levites and all the tribe of Levi.*] The word *and*, inserted by our translators, weakens the force of the original. . . . The effect might be given thus: 'There shall not be to the priests the Levites, yea the whole tribe of Levi, any inheritance &c.' This is thus forcibly laid down by way of basis for the enlargement made in the subsequent verses of the emoluments of the priests and Levites, and *serves to suggest the need, probably already ascertained, of some addition to their allowance.* *p.*865.

Ans. There is no 'and' or 'yea' in the original: render 'the priests the Levites, the whole tribe of Levi, shall have no part nor inheritance in

Israel.' Here 'the priests the Levites' = 'the whole tribe of Levi': only by the first expression the writer understands the *officiating* Levites, who were willing to come up to the Sanctuary and minister as priests, *v.6,7*, which probably the great majority of 'the whole tribe of Levi' were not inclined to do. But Mr.ESPIN's suggestion, that the (supposed) Divine prescriptions, which had provided for *three* priests and their families the huge supply of N.xviii.8-19,—the very pigeons offered for women in child-birth averaging 264 daily (I.154-6)—and for the 23,000 Levites the entire agricultural produce—Mr.ESPIN says 'animal produce' also—belonging to 60,000 laymen and their families (71), were not sufficient, and that it had been 'probably already ascertained' that there was 'need of some addition to their allowance,' is certainly not a little surprising.

87. The words of *v.1,2*, are evidently suggested by N.xviii.20, &c. *comp.* also D.x.9, J.xiii.14,33. *p.865.*

Ans. On the contrary, it is evident that the words in *v.1,2*, which say that 'the priests the Levites, *the whole tribe of Levi*, shall have no part nor inheritance in Israel . . . *Jehovah is their inheritance, as He said unto them,*' are *not* suggested by N.xviii.20, where similar words indeed are used, but are addressed exclusively to the priests, who alone were to consume 'the fire-offerings of Jehovah,' 'Jehovah's portion' of the sacrifices, *v.8*, &c. and *comp.* especially N.xxxi.37-41, with *v.47.*

The original notice appears in the O.S., *viz.* J.xiii.14, where again the 'fire-offerings of Jehovah' are 'the inheritance of the *tribe* of Levi,' and *v.33*, where 'Jehovah is the inheritance of the *tribe* of Levi'; and in each case it is added, as here, '*as He said unto them,*' which appears to refer to some notice which must have stood originally in the O.S. after E.xxxii, when 'the whole tribe of Levi' was rewarded for its zeal in the affair of the Golden Calf by being chosen for the priesthood, and when probably it was promised that 'Jehovah should be their inheritance' (42). To this last D. refers in the passage before us, and the L.L. afterwards adopts the language, restricting it, however, exclusively to the priests, but necessarily cancelling the earlier passage in question, when it introduced its own account of the separation of the tribe for sacred offices and the distinction of the priests and Levites, N.i.47-54, iii,iv.

88. *v.3-5.* Separate allusion is now made to the two parts of the tribe of Levi, the priests, *v.3-5*, and the Levites, *v.6-8*. The perquisites here named are clearly assigned to the priests as distinct from the Levites, *v.3*, the corresponding privileges belonging specifically to the latter coming in due order, *v.6-8.* *p.865.*

Ans. There is no such distinction made as Mr.ESPIN supposes. The 'Levite' in *v.6* is a 'priest,' as appears plainly from the expressions in *v.7*, 'then shall he *minister in the name of Jehovah*, as all his brethren the Levites

do, who *stand there before Jehovah.*' These expressions are used in the Pentateuch only of the *priests*, the former in v.5, and the latter in E.xxviii.1,3, 35,43, D.x.8, *comp.* E.xxviii.12,29,30, Ez.xl.46, xliii.19, whereas the *Levites* (of the L.L.) are to 'stand before the priest to minister to him,' N.iii.6, viii.13,22, xviii.2, *comp.* Ez.xliv.15,16, xlv.4, or 'to stand before the people to minister to them,' N.xvi.9, *comp.* Ez.xliv.11,12, or to the tabernacle, N.i.50. And accordingly Mr.ESPIN himself says elsewhere that—

it was properly the priest's office to minister before the Lord, D.xviii.5. p.836—

where the very same phrase is used, 'minister in the name of the Lord,' as is used in v.7. It is obvious that no 'privileges belonging specifically' to the Levites are mentioned in v.6-8; it is only said in general terms that any Levites who were willing to come to the Sanctuary and minister 'shall have like portions' with their brethren, *i.e.* with 'the priests the Levites' already ministering there.

89. v.4. The law of firstfruits is repeated from N.xviii.12,13, for the purpose of adding thereto 'the first fleece of the sheep.' p.866.

Ans. Moses therefore, according to Mr.ESPIN, adds the firstfruits of 'wool' to what *Jehovah* thought sufficient for the priests.

The L.L. has dropped the claim for this in N.xviii.12, *comp.* also Neh.x.35,37, where no 'wool' is mentioned. But it made abundant compensation for this by claiming the tithes of corn, wine, and oil, for the Levites, N.xviii.21,24, *comp.* Neh.x.37, xiii.5,12, and 2Ch.xxxi.5, 'firstfruits of *honey*.'

90. v.5. *him and his sons for ever.*] A plain reference to the original appointment of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood. p.866.

Ans. The reference is not to 'Aaron,' who belongs only to the L.L., but to 'Levi' named in v.1, which was doubtless 'chosen out of all the tribes' for the priesthood in the O.S. (87), 'he and his sons for ever,' where 'he' is the tribe personified, *comp.* D.x.9.

91. v.6-8. Allusion is now made to the Levites specifically so-called, *i.e.* to the non-priestly Levites, in contrast with 'the priest' who with 'his sons' is mentioned in v.3-5.

These verses presuppose that part of the Levites only will be in residence and officiating at the place of the Sanctuary, the others of course dwelling at their own homes in the Levitical cities, N.xxxv.2, &c. But, if any Levite out of love for the service of the Sanctuary chose to resort to it when he might reside in his own home, he was to have his share in the maintenance which was provided for those ministering in the order of their course. p.866.

Ans. See (88): D. here refers to the *non-officiating* Levites, who might wish to come up and take part in the work of the priesthood at the Sancto-

tuary: see 2K.xii.9, xxii.4, xxv.18, where the 'gatekeepers' of the Temple are *priests*.

From the language of D. throughout we should gather that in his days many of the Levites were poor and needy, and lived about the country 'in the gates' of the people, without showing any very great eagerness to take part in the Temple duties. Probably, in the beginning of Josiah's reign, immediately after those of Manasseh and Amon, these presented no great attractions of a worldly kind, *comp.* the account given at the beginning of Hezekiah's reign, 2Ch.xxix.3-16, xxxi.10, though this is untrustworthy; or else their *hearts* were not generally very zealous in the work of establishing the purer worship of Jehovah, and they preferred the more sensual and lucrative employment at 'high-places,' 2K.xxiii.9.

In D.'s time there were no Levitical cities, which belong only to the L.L.; and accordingly he makes not the least allusion to them anywhere, but speaks here of 'a Levite coming out of any of thy gates out of all Israel where he sojourned,' v.6.

92. v.6. *any of thy gates out of all Israel where he sojourned.*] The various administrative duties discharged by Levites (*e.g.* that of Shoterim, xvii.8, &c.) would necessarily lead to many individuals of them 'sojourning' from time to time in various parts of the land, and often in other than Levitical cities; and indeed as these cities were [to be] scattered up and down amongst the tribes, and were [to be] the only regular dwelling-places of the tribe of Levi, the members of that tribe may be said, in contrast with the others, to be 'sojourners' altogether. p.866.

Ans. xvii.8, &c. says nothing whatever about 'various administrative duties being discharged by Levites' about the land; and it is clear that, if they were thus honourably employed, they would hardly be classed continually with 'the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow,' much less would the strict charge be repeated 'not to forsake the Levite all thy days upon the ground,' xii.19. They are spoken of as being, generally, even in D.'s time, needy dependents, sojourners or stragglers, like those in Ju.xvii.9, xix.1.

93. v.7. *he shall minister in the name of the Lord his God.*] The duty of the Levites was to assist the priests; and their subordinate ministration is expressed in N.iii.6 by the same Hebrew word as is here used. p.866.

Ans. Of course, the Hebrew word for 'minister' is the same in N.iii.6 as here, being merely the common word for 'ministering' in any capacity whatever, *e.g.* Joseph 'ministers' to Potiphar, G.xxxix.4, and to Pharaoh's officers, G.xl.4, Joshua to Moses, E.xxiv.13, Abishag to David, 1K.i.4, Elisha to Elijah, xix.21, &c. But N.iii.6 does not say that the Levites 'shall minister in the name of the Lord,' as here—a phrase appropriated to

the priests in the L.L. (88)—but only that ‘they shall minister unto Aaron the priest.’

94. v.8. *they shall have like portions to eat,*] *i.e.* the new-comer and those already in attendance. *Due provision had been made in the preceding legislation* for the maintenance of the ministry of the Sanctuary. All that now needed to be done was to secure the volunteer his share in it. p.866.

Ans. ‘Due provision had been made’ in v.3,4, for ‘the priests the Levites,’ which all zealous Levites coming to act as priests at the Sanctuary, ‘with all the desire of their mind,’ should be allowed to share. It is strange that D., who gives in detail in v.3,4, the perquisites of the priests, their portions of the sacrifices and their firstfruits of corn, wine, oil, and wool, should say not a word anywhere about the Levites’ *tithe* of corn, wine, and oil, and of the priests’ right to have a *tithe* of this, N.xviii.20–32.

95. v.8. *beside that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony.*] The Levites had indeed ‘no part nor inheritance with Israel’; but they might individually possess property, and in fact often did so. Thus Abiathar owned certain ‘fields,’ 1K.ii.26, and Jeremiah bought a field of his uncle, Jer.xxxii.7, &c. The law in L.xxv.33,34, forbids the sale of the pastures belonging in common to the Levites as such; but private property might of course be disposed of at the pleasure of the owner. p.866.

Ans. As D. knows nothing of Levitical cities, he refers, of course, to such lands as a Levite may have purchased or inherited. According to the O.S., it would seem, the Levites had no ‘inheritance in Israel,’ *i.e.* no lands, Levitical cities, &c., allotted to them, like the other tribes. But any Levite who had acquired means to buy land, might do so, and leave it to his descendant. Only, if the ‘Law of Jubilee’ had really existed and been in force, he could not secure it in his family for more than 49 years at the outside.

It is noticeable, however, that Abiathar ‘owned fields’ at *Anathoth*, and Jeremiah ‘bought a field of his uncle’ at *Anathoth*; both these were ‘priests,’ and Anathoth was a ‘priestly city,’ according to the L.L. (J.xxi.18); and yet it was forbidden to sell the pastures of a Levitical city, L.xxv.33,34. Of course, it may be said that these ‘fields’ lay outside the ‘pastures’ of the place. But the fact is that neither was this law of the L.L., nor the Levitical cities themselves, known in the days of Jeremiah (the Deuteronomist).

96. The command given in xviii.1,2, that the priests and Levites should have no inheritance in Canaan, as the other tribes had, is clearly repeated, almost *verbatim*, from Numbers. Neither can it fairly and consistently be denied that the provision here made has in view the regulations of the earlier books on the subject, E.xxix.26–28, L.vii.31–34, x.12–15, N.vi.20, xviii.11–18. Yet in those passages through-

out the portions assigned to the priest are the 'wave-breast and heave-shoulder,' or, more properly 'heave-leg.' Here, on the contrary, the priest is to have the 'shoulder,' *i.e.* the fore-quarter (זרע)—not apparently [? certainly not] the same with the 'heave-shoulder [leg] (שוק)' of L.vii.34—the two jaws or cheeks, and 'the maw.' By the latter is usually and correctly understood the lower or fourth stomach of ruminant animals, which was esteemed as a dainty by the ancients. The question is whether the portions assigned to the priest in this place are so in *substitution* for those named in L.vii. or in *addition* thereto. p.868.

Ans. The command in xviii.1,2, 'is clearly' not 'repeated from Numbers' (87), nor is there any ground whatever for supposing that the writer 'had in view the regulations of E.xxix.26-28, &c.' I have not met with authority for the statement that the 'tripe-stomach' was 'esteemed as a dainty by the ancients'; KNOBEL, KEIL, SCHULTZ, are all silent, as far as I can find, on this point; and the expressions of HORACE, *Epist.* I.xv.33-35—

Hic ubi nequitiae fautoribus et timidus nil

Aut paulum abstulerat, patinas canabat omasi

Vilis et agninae, tribus ursis quod satis esset—

rather imply that it was considered coarse eating: but I presume that Mr. ESPIN has sufficient ground for the assertion. The 'question,' however, is not as above stated, but it is this, 'whether the provision for the priests in D.xviii.3,4, is *earlier* or *later* than that in L.vii.34.'

97. The former view is taken by a large class of commentators, who regard the provision here made for the priests as much more slender than that in the earlier books, and see in the difference a token that Deuteronomy was written at a late date, *when the Levitical priesthood had declined in estimation, and had to be content with reduced revenues.* p.868.

Ans. In (III.717), *assuming* too readily without examination that the Levitical laws in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers were *older* than those in Deuteronomy, and therefore indicated that the provisions for the priesthood were more sumptuous in the older time, *e.g.* in the time of Solomon, I had concluded, as above, that in the age of D. 'the Levitical priesthood had declined in estimation, and had to be content with reduced revenues.' But, having now ascertained the *later* origin of the L.L., I infer that the 'Levitical priesthood,' though still generally in a low and impoverished condition in the age of D., was gradually rising in dignity, and, on the return from the Captivity, was in a position to advance the extraordinary claims put forth in the L.L., and to lord it over the other Levites, as well as the Laity.

98. But the following considerations must be borne in mind:—

(i) The passage opens, v.1,2, by emphatically presenting the priests and Levites as standing in need of some special provision after the settlement in Canaan had assigned possessions of lands to the other tribes.

(ii) Certain perquisites hitherto enjoyed by the priests would fail after the necessary abolition (xii.15) of the command given in L.xvii. to slay animals nowhere save at the door of the Tabernacle.

(iii) The 'shoulder' and the 'maw' were not esteemed inferior pieces, but on the contrary amongst the choicest.

(iv) v.4 incontrovertibly provides a new item of income for the priests, *viz.* 'the first fleece of thy sheep.'

(v) A distinction seems clearly intended between 'the fringes of the Lord and His inheritance' in v.1, which would include 'the wave-breast and the heave-shoulder [leg], and the priests' 'due from the people,' v.3, *i.e.* the shoulder, the cheeks, and the maw, which were to be given by the people to the priest out of their own portion or 'inheritance.'

(vi) It appears historically that in later times the priest had a recognised claim to some other portions of the victims slain than the wave-breast and heave shoulder, 1S.ii.13-16. p.868.

Ans. (i) agrees thoroughly with our own view, *viz.* that no provision had yet been made for 'the priests the Levites, the whole tribe of Levi,' except the general statements of the O.S., J.xiii.14,33, which speak of 'Jehovah's fire-offerings (Jehovah) being their inheritance, as *He said unto them,*' and refer probably to some cancelled passage after E.xxxii (87) containing a statement of a similar kind, which general law D. now defines more strictly, in accordance probably with the actual practice of pious offerers in his own time.

(ii) But 'the command given in L.xvii' was to be 'a statute for ever unto them throughout their generations'! On our view this law did not exist in D.'s time, and consequently there was no 'failure of the perquisites' enjoined in it to account for the provision before us.

(iii) The 'shoulder' and the 'maw' *if* 'esteemed amongst the choicest pieces,' of which no proof is given by Mr. ESPIN, are yet hardly to be compared with the 'breast' and 'hind-leg.' In 1S.ix.23 we must suppose that the 'choicest piece' was set aside for Saul, and it is the 'leg *פֶּיִשׁ*,' v.24, not the 'shoulder' or the 'maw.'

(iv) No doubt, v.4 provides the 'first fleece of wool,' which is absent from the L.L., and also from Neh.x.35, 2Ch.xxxi.5, which show the *later* practice. But the L.L. makes amends for this abundantly by its other provisions for the priests and Levites.

(v) There is no ground for this distinction: 'Jehovah's fire-offerings' are defined in v.3, and, as these would not include the 'firstfruits' in v.4, D. adds in v.1, 'even His inheritance,' which includes *both* sets of perquisites.

(vi) Implies that in Eli's time no law at all had been laid down, either by the L.L. or by D., fixing the priest's portion of the sacrifices: only the

priest's servant came, and struck a three-pronged fork into the pot where the pieces were boiling, and took up what he could for the priest. Of course, it may be said that Eli was old and his two sons 'sons of Belial,' v.12, 'and (knew) regarded not Jehovah nor the custom of the priest with the people,' as v.12 should probably be translated; and this would imply that a 'custom' of some kind existed from the earliest time in these matters, which these evil priests neglected, and which was first formulated as a law by D. But the priests surely would not have sent their servant to grope at hap-hazard for pieces—or, apparently, a single piece—of meat, if they had a *right* to claim 'the breast and the hind-leg,' or even 'the shoulder, the cheeks, and the maw,' of every victim.

99. On the whole, then, there seems to be nothing in the passage to point to a lower estimation of the priests than that suggested by the preceding books, nor can it fairly be regarded as substituting for the more generous allowance of old laws, a scantier provision, the best that later and less religious days admitted of.

On the contrary, its tenor and contents clearly point to the conclusion (adopted by KEIL, SCHULTZ, WORDSWORTH, &c.) that the 'shoulder, cheeks, and maw,' were to be given by the people to the priests *in addition* to those portions claimed by the laws of Leviticus as belonging to the Lord.

Just so the Nazarite, when the days of his separation were complete, had to give to the priest 'the sodden shoulder' (*i.e.* the forequarter), in addition to the 'wave-breast and heave-shoulder [leg].' p.868.

Ans. D. in this passage undoubtedly provides 'a scantier provision' for the priests than the laws of the L.L. secure for them, and not only here, but frequently throughout his work, he evinces that a far 'lower estimation of the priests' prevailed in his time than that implied by those later prescriptions, which clothe them with an awful dignity, utterly unknown to D., or assuredly he would never have classed them with 'the stranger, the widow, and the fatherless.' But if, *in addition* to the enormous provision made for them in the L.L., 'the shoulder, cheeks, and maw' of v.3 'were to be given by the people to the priests,' were, then, the 'firstfruits of corn, wine, and oil' in v.4 to be given *in addition* to the very same firstfruits assigned to the priests in N.xviii.12, more especially as v.4 does contain something new in the firstfruits of 'wool'?

The 'shoulder' in N.vi.19,20, which the Nazarite is to give to the priest *in addition* to the 'wave-breast and heave-leg,' belongs to the L.L., and perhaps contains a reminiscence of the older practice *before* the Captivity, coupled with that of the L.L.

100. v.15-18. *The tenor of the passage considered as a whole points to a series of prophets*, to be raised up as the exigencies of God's people might require, as no less promised here than is the One Divine Teacher to whom they all gave witness.

(i) The passage occurs amidst a series of regulations concerning the *orders* of rulers, civil and spiritual, by which the people were to be governed when settled in Canaan. *In such a connection it seems anomalous to refer the verses before us to an individual exclusively.*

(ii) The passage is introduced by prohibitions of those 'curious arts,' by which the heathen sought to pry into futurity. Upon these interdicts is based a promise, the purport of which is to assure the people that all needful instruction and guidance shall be vouchsafed to them in their necessities by God Himself. *But to refer Israel to a single Teacher in the distant future would not be to the purpose.*

(iii) To the promise Moses adds a denunciation of false prophets, and gives a test by which they might be detected. *It seems then that he must in what precedes have been speaking not of a single true prophet, but of true prophets generally.*

(iv) If this passage points solely to the Person of the Messiah, then the prophets are left, so far as the Law is concerned, without any recognition. . . . *This seems highly improbable.*

The expression 'like unto,' v.15,18, . . . finds its explanation by what follows in v.18, 'I will put My words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him.' This explanation embodies an ordinary formula for describing the Divine communications to the prophets, N.xxiii.5,16, Is.li.16, Jer.i.9, &c.

The word 'prophet' (נָבִיא) is probably here a 'collective' noun. . . . Examples of collective nouns are זֶרַע, G.i.15, יוֹשֵׁב, G.iv.20, אֶב, E.iii.6, נָצַר, N.xi.27; and מֶלֶךְ in D.xvii.14-20 appears equivalent to the 'kings' of Israel generally.

The passage thus appears to contemplate, as its *secondary* though still momentous sense, a succession of prophets, not necessarily an uninterrupted succession, but one which should never fail in Israel's emergency. And, *even if it bore no further import than this*, it would yet *à fortiori* have a reference to the Messiah, though not to Him alone. . . . In fact, in the words before us, Moses gives promise both of a prophetic order and of the Messiah in particular as its chief—of a line of prophets culminating in one eminent individual. . . . We may well believe that the grammatical form of the words (the singular number of the leading noun and the singular suffix), was overruled so as to suggest to the reflective and enquiring the expectation of One in whom they would be most signally realised. p.869-70.

Ans. Mr. ESPIN's arguments completely overthrow his own final conclusion, *viz.* that a 'succession of prophets' is not the primary, but only the *secondary*, meaning of the passage. As he himself says—

Would any reference to such a contingency as that indicated in v.10-20 [*sic*, but? v.20-22] be suitable or even admissible, if the context were applicable to Christ simply and exclusively? p.869.

It is clear that D., in speaking here of a *prophet*, does not 'contemplate' the Messiah at all, any more than he does when speaking of a *king* in xvii.14-20, or of a *priest* in xviii.1-8, but promises merely a supply of prophets in Israel's time of need, 'like unto Moses,' or like unto the writer (Jeremiah himself)—though *we* may refer his language to Christ.

Chap. xix.

101. With *v.1-13*, which relate to the cities of refuge, *comp.* E.xxi.13, N.xxxv.9-34. The laws here given are in some particulars supplementary to those of the last-named passage. . . . It seems as if in Is.xl.3, &c., the imagery were borrowed from the preparation of the ways to the cities of refuge. *p.870.*

The elders are to act as the leaders and administrators of the people at large, *i.e.* of 'the congregation,' N.xxxv.12,24, J.xx.6,9, with whom the adjudication respecting the guilt of the manslayer would ultimately rest.

In these verses the directions respecting the preparation of the roads to the cities of refuge, the provision of additional cities in case of an extension of territory, and the intervention of the elders as representing the congregation, are peculiar to Deuteronomy, and supplementary to the laws on the same subject given in the earlier books. *p.871.*

Ans. *v.1-13* is based, no doubt, on E.xxi.13 (O.S.), but is not, in any respect 'supplementary to N.xxxv.9-34'; and D. evidently had not the latter before him, since he orders here merely that these three cities should be 'separated in the midst of the land,' but says not a word about their being 'separated out of the *Levitical cities*,' N.xxxv.6.

The 'elders' in *v.12* are the 'elders of *his city*,' who are to send and seize a *murderer*, though he may have escaped into a 'city of refuge,' and to 'deliver him to the avenger of blood that he may die'; they are not the 'elders of the congregation,' as Mr.ESPIN erroneously assumes, who act in the L.L. (*comp.* L.iv.15) 'as the leaders and administrators of the people at large, *i.e.* of the congregation'; and, in fact, the 'elders of that city' and 'the congregation' are expressly contrasted in J.xx.4, 6.

Mr.ESPIN also states, from Jewish sources, that it was 'the duty of the Senate' to repair these roads annually, by levelling all 'hillocks,' bridging all rivers, and making 'the road at least 32 cubits (nearly 20 yards!) wide'; but he does not tell us *what* roads were kept in this magnificent order: surely they were not *all* the roads leading to any 'city of refuge' from all parts of the adjoining district? Yet nothing less would seem to satisfy the requirements of the case.

The imagery in Is.xl.3, &c. can hardly have been borrowed from these cities; 'Prepare ye the way of Jehovah, make straight in the desert a highway for our God,' cannot possibly refer to clearing the way for Jehovah or His people to a 'city of refuge.' They manifestly allude to the practice of removing obstructions, &c. in preparation for the progress of an Eastern Potentate.

102. *v.8,9.* The '*three cities more*' cannot, as KNOBEL, HENGSTENBERG, &c. maintain, be the same as those alluded to in *v.2,7*. Rather is provision here made for the anticipated enlargement of the borders of Israel to the utmost limits pro-

mised by God, from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates, G.xv.18, E.xxiii.31. This promise, owing to the sins of the people, received but a late fulfilment after David had conquered the Philistines, Syrians, &c.; and a transient one, for many of the conquered peoples regained independence on the dissolution of Solomon's empire. . . . Had Israel 'succeeded' to the heathen, and 'dwelt in their place' throughout all the regions assigned by God's covenant with their fathers, the nine cities of refuge, which are contemplated by the passage before us, would certainly have been needed. . . . It is obvious that such a passage as this could not have been penned in times to which rationalist critics are wont to assign Deuteronomy. No one living in those times would think of treating as a future contingency, 'if the Lord thy God enlarge, &c.,' an extension of territory which at the date in question had in fact taken place long ago and been subsequently forfeited. p.871.

Ans. The L.L. in N.xxxv.6,13, orders 'six' cities of refuge to be set apart out of the Levitical cities; and so in v.14,15, and in J.xx.7,8, xxi.13,21,27, 32,36,38, only 'six' cities are contemplated. In fact, if *nine* were to be appointed under certain circumstances, as Mr.ESPIN supposes, we must have expected some corresponding change with regard to the number of Levitical cities.

Accordingly D. in the passage before us only contemplates *six*, viz. three in the *land of Canaan*, v.1,2,3, and three *beyond* it, v.9, without specifying where; though in the introductory chapters, i-iv, written at a *later* date (VI.28), he names these three in the trans-Jordanic territory, iv.41-43. Thus the whole mystery is explained, which has puzzled commentators. And a provision like this was specially needed in Josiah's age, since the high-places, whose altars might have served as places of refuge, E.xxi.14, 1K.i.50, &c., ii.28, &c. had been mostly abolished by Hezekiah, 2K.xviii.4, but see xxiii.13, and, though renewed under Manasseh, xxi.3, would be destroyed again under Josiah, as D. hoped, even more effectually, and as was actually done, xxiii.8,13. It is noticeable that *Jerusalem* itself is not named in any of the notices as a 'city of refuge,' though both in the First and in the Second Temple it was a special *place* of refuge, 1K.i.50, ii.28, 1Macc.x.43.

103. v.17. *stand before the Lord, before the priests and the judges,*] i.e. before the Supreme Court held, as provided in ch.xvii, at the Sanctuary. p.872.

Ans. There is no reference to any 'Supreme Court held, as provided in ch.xvii,' but merely to 'the priests and the judges,' v.17, or 'the judges,' v.18. It may be that there is an allusion in the phrase 'stand before Jehovah' to the fact that such decisions in the writer's age would generally be given 'at the Sanctuary'; or the judges may be regarded as representing Jehovah, *comp.* E.xxi.6, xxii.8,9, and to 'stand before them' was to 'stand before Jehovah.'

Chap. xx.

104. These requirements sound indeed but small to Christian ears. But, when the ferocity and mercilessness of Oriental wars in ancient times are recollected, Moses may well in this as in other respects be thought to *have carried his demands on the self-control of the people to the utmost they could then bear.* p.873.

Ans. In Deuteronomy Moses is speaking, and it may not offend an orthodox ear so much to be told that *he* 'had carried his demands on the self-control of the people to the utmost they could then bear,' as it probably would, if Mr.ESPIN had used the same language in speaking directly about *Jehovah's* doings. But, in point of fact, on Mr.ESPIN's view, these speeches of Moses in Deuteronomy illustrate exactly the character of the legislation throughout; since, according to him, when we read 'and Jehovah spake unto Moses,' we must understand that there was no oral Divine utterance; only Moses speaks in Jehovah's name, what had been revealed to his inner man, just exactly as he does on Mr.ESPIN's view in Deuteronomy.

105. *v.2. the priest*] not the High Priest, but one appointed for the purpose, and called, according to the Rabbins, 'the Anointed of the War;' hence, perhaps, the expression of Jer.vi.4, &c., to 'prepare' (*lit.* consecrate) war. Thus Phinehas went with the warriors to fight against Midian. N.xxxi.6, *comp.* 1.S.iv.4,11, 2Ch.xiii.12. p.873.

Ans. There is not the slightest connection between Jer.vi.4, and the priest described by Mr.ESPIN as 'appointed for the purpose,' as is clear from the fact that the prophet here addresses the *foes* of Jerusalem, saying 'Sanctify ye war against her.' Doubtless this use of the phrase is derived from the fact that in most nations an important war would be begun of old, even as now, with some religious ceremonies; and in this sense accordingly it is employed in Jer.xxii.7, 'I will sanctify destroyers against thee (Jerusalem),' li.27,28, 'sanctify the nations against her (Babylon),' Mic.iii.5, 'he that putteth not into their mouths, they (the false prophets) even sanctify war against him,' *comp.* also Joel iii.9, Is.xiii.3.

The 'Rabbins,' the L.L. (N.xxxi.6), and the Chronicler (2Ch.xiii.12) are poor authorities for the fact stated by Mr.ESPIN that 'the Anointed of the War' was appointed for great expeditions, or, at all events, that the practice existed in D.'s time. In 1S.iv.4,11, it is very plain that no priest 'Anointed for the War' set out with the host, though the ark was sent for afterwards and *two* priests brought it.

But the proceeding here described by D. is altogether imaginary, as appears from the fact that, though the words of 'the priest' in *v.2,3*, and even those of the officers in *v.8*, might be conceived to be uttered on the day of battle, yet those in *v.5-7,9*, are utterly without meaning unless spoken before the army started from home.

106. *v.6. and what man that hath planted a vineyard, and hath not yet eaten of it.*] Heb., as marg., 'hath not made it common.' The fruit of newly planted trees was set apart from common uses *four years*, L.xix.23, &c. *p.873.*

Ans. Was, then, the man who had just 'planted a vineyard'—it might be as small as he pleased—to be excused from warfare for '*four years*,' that he might eat the fruit of it? But L.xix.23, &c. is a law of the L.L. which applies to *fruit-trees* only, not to vineyards. A vineyard might very well be said to be 'profaned,' when its fruit had been gathered and used for food.

107. *v.10.* It appears from this verse that, when towns surrendered peacefully, not even the armed men in them were to be put to death, and from the following verses that in those taken by storm males only might be killed. *p.874.*

Ans. Mr.ESPIN should have said 'in those taken by storm *all the males must be killed*, *v.13*, and the women and children carried off as slaves,' *v.14*, while of cities in the land of Canaan male and female were to be mercilessly butchered—'thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth,' *v.16*. Even the usually tender-hearted Deuteronomist lays down this bloodthirsty command in accordance with the spirit of that age, but even in excess of the usual practice, *comp.* the massacre of Amalek, 1S.xv.3, David's ferocious treatment of the people of Rabbah, 2S.xii.31, and the fictitious story of the massacre of the Midianites, N.xxxi.7,17. But he probably does this rather for the purpose of bringing out in a stronger light the (*imaginary*) measures of extermination which he would have carried out with his Canaanites, *i.e.* with the idolatrous Israelites of his own time (33).

Chap. xxi.

108. *v.2. thy elders and thy judges.*] *i.e.* the elders and judges of the neighbouring cities. The elders represented the citizens at large, the judges the magistracy, whilst 'the priests the sons of Levi,' *v.5*, *i.e.* some priests from the nearest priestly town, were likewise to be at hand. Thus all classes were represented at the purging away of that blood-guiltiness which until removed attached to the whole community. *p.875.*

The presence of the priests seems required as the representatives of their order in the state. They would also see that the rite was regularly performed, and accredit it where it had been so. They do not appear to have any direct part assigned them in it, perhaps in order to mark more clearly that no sacrifice, properly so called, was being offered. *p.876.*

Ans. But the 'priestly cities' are all placed in the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, J.xxi.13–19. How could 'some priests from the nearest priestly town be at hand,' if the corpse was found in the territory of some distant tribe across the Jordan? The loose reference to the 'priests the sons of Levi,' as well as to the 'elders and judges,' which there is no reason

whatever to confine to those 'of the neighbouring cities,' shows that the proceeding here prescribed is imaginary; and, as Mr. ESPIN says, neither the priests nor the judges 'appear to have any direct part assigned them in it.' The passage probably expresses only the writer's horror and detestation of the shedding of 'innocent blood' in the land, *comp.* xix.10,13, xxii.8, xxvii.25, Jer.ii.34, vii.6, xix.4, xxii.3,17, xxvi.15, Lam.iv.13,14.

109. v.13. *and she shall bewail her father and her mother a full month.*] This is prescribed from motives of humanity, that the woman might have time and leisure to *detach her affections from their natural ties*, and prepare her mind for new ones. p.877.

Ans. A 'full month' is to be allowed the unfortunate slave to 'bewail her father and her mother' and 'detach her affections from their natural ties'; and then she may either be sold before being 'humbled,'—as is plainly implied by v.14, where 'selling the woman' had *not* 'been forbidden,' as Mr. ESPIN says, p.877, but only 'selling the woman *when humbled*'—or else she may be 'humbled' by her master and then she is not to be sold, but must be either taken for his concubine, or 'let go whither she will,' v.14!

110. v.18–21. The incorrigible son, whom milder measures failed to reclaim, was to be denounced by his parents to 'the elders' and stoned at the gate of the city. . . . The formal accusation of parents against a child *was* to be received without inquiry, as being its own proof. p.877.

Ans. This also is obviously a purely imaginary prescription. Not a word is said about a drunken or dissolute *daughter*, nor is anything inserted to protect a son from the injustice or impatience of foolish or even wicked parents, whose weak training or vicious example may have ruined their child and made him just what he is. 'The formal accusation of the parents against the child was to be received without inquiry.'

Perhaps the treatment of this rebellious son was especially meant to shadow forth the treatment deserved by 'rebellious Israel,' *comp.* Jer.iii.19, xxxi.9, xxxv.

111. v.23. Prof. Lightfoot observes (on Gal.iii.13) that 'the case attached to חָלַל may denote either the person who pronounces the curse, Ju.ix.57, or the person against whom the curse is pronounced, G.xxvii.13. . . . As we assign one or other sense therefore to the dependent case, we get two distinct interpretations.' These are (i) 'he that is hanged is accursed by God,' a rendering adopted in substance by the LXX, Vulg., Syr., by St. Paul, Gal.iii.13, and, as might be expected, by nearly all Christian translators and commentators; (ii) 'he that is hanged is a curse (*i.e.* an insult, injury, or mockery) to God,' . . . with which may be compared the reason assigned for limiting the number of stripes to forty, D.xxv.3, 'lest thy brother should seem vile unto thee.' p.878.

On the whole, there can be no doubt that the former rendering, that of the

LXX, and followed by St. Paul, is the original and correct one. Yet the other construction, fairly supported as it is by grammar and analogy, not without some (though comparatively late) Jewish authority—‘the popular Jewish interpretation at all events from the second century of the Christian era,’—and followed also by a few Christian commentators, deserves at least discussion. *p.*879.

Ans. It seems so difficult to explain ‘the emphatic detestation expressed in the text against him that is hanged,’ *p.*878, that the latter interpretation is probably the correct one, the idea of which, as explained by Jarchi, quoted by Mr. ESPIN, *p.*879, is that the exposure of the putrefying corpse is an insult to the Creator, a horrible defacement of ‘that human nature which was made in God’s image,’ *p.*882.

Chap. xxii.

112. *v.*1-4. *comp.* E.xxiii.4,5, of which these verses are an expansion.

Ans. D. had before him the laws of the O.S. in E.xx.22, &c., which, in fact, he had already condensed in E.xxxiv.9-27 (VI.248).

113. *v.*5. *that which pertaineth unto a man.*] *i.e.* Not only his dress, but all that specially pertains distinctly to his sex, arms, domestic, and other utensils. The word (לְבָשׁ) is frequently used in this comprehensive sense for ‘things’ or ‘articles’ generally, E.xxv.39, L.xi.32, xiii.49, Is.lxi.10, &c. COLENSO is in error in stating that it is used in the above sense only in this passage and in E.xxii.7. *p.*879.

Ans. לְבָשׁ is here used in the sense of ‘article of *clothing*,’ as is plain from its being represented by לְבָשׁוֹת, ‘garment,’ in the parallel clause in the latter part of the verse: and I have said (III.741) that ‘in the Pentateuch לְבָשׁ is used in *this* sense only in E.xxii.7, besides the present passage,’ which (as far as I am aware) is perfectly correct, though a matter of no importance. In the passages quoted by Mr. ESPIN it is used of ‘vessels of gold,’ E.xxv.39, or ‘vessels of wood,’ distinguished from ‘garments,’ L.xi.32, or ‘vessel of skin,’ also distinguished from ‘garment,’ L.xiii.49, or ‘jewels,’ Is.lxi.10.

114. *v.*19. In fact, that the penalties attached to bearing false witness against a wife are fixed and comparatively light, indicates, as St. Augustine observes, *the low estimation and position of the woman under the Law.* *p.*881.

Ans. Yet this, on the traditionary view, is a Divine Law, the work of Him who created man and woman in His own image—‘in the image of God created He him, male and female created He them’ ! G.i.27.

Chap. xxiii.

115. *v.*1. On the two classes named here, *comp.* L.xxi.17-24. The exclusion is, however, here carried, in the case of persons mutilated or maimed as described

in the text, further than in Leviticus. Such persons are not to be admitted at all into the commonwealth of Israel. *p.882.*

Ans. Whereas *Jehovah* in L.xxi.17-24 only excludes persons so maimed from the *priesthood*, Moses here excludes them from the community of Israel—though probably in most cases those who had been made eunuchs in this way in their infancy, had been victimised to serve the evil passions of others, who were *not* thus excluded from the community!

Evidently, in such a case as this, the less stringent law, which guarded only the ceremonial sanctity of the priesthood, was the later.

116. v.3-6. SAALSCHUTZ remarks that this law forbids only the *naturalisation* of those (Ammonites and Moabites) against whom it is directed. It does not forbid their dwelling in the land, and seems to refer rather to the nations than to individuals. It was not understood at any rate to interdict marriage with a Moabitess, Ruth,i.4, iv.13. Ruth, however, and her sister were doubtless proselytes. Such a law would certainly never have suggested itself to the mind of a writer after the times of David, whose great-grandmother was a Moabitess. *p.882.*

Ans. So Rehoboam's mother was an Ammonitess, 1K.xiv.31, apparently Solomon's first wife taken during his father's lifetime, and therefore with his approval, since Rehoboam was '41 years old when he began to reign,' v.21, and Solomon had reigned only 40 years, xi.42; and David had very friendly relations at one time with the Ammonites, 2S.x.2, *comp.* xvii.27, and with the Moabites, 1S.xxii.3,4. That Ruth's sister, at all events, was not a proselyte appears from R.i.15, where she returns to 'the gods' of Moab; and the fact that Naomi bids Ruth follow the example hardly justifies the supposition that at that time Ruth was a true worshipper of *Jehovah*.

It is at least as difficult to account for David's friendly relations with Ammon and Moab, in spite of the denunciations in the passage before us, which excludes them from the congregation of *Jehovah* 'unto the tenth generation,' *i.e.* as Mr.ESPIN says, 'for ever,' *p.882*, adding, 'thou shalt not seek their peace nor their good all thy days for ever,'—or for Jeremiah 'seeking their peace and their good,' and advising them to 'put their necks under the yoke of the King of Babylon,' xxvii.1-11, in which case they should still 'remain in their own land, saith *Jehovah*, and till it and dwell therein,'—if he had these commands before him and believed them to be a portion of a Divine Law, as it is to account for the idea of writing such words having 'suggested itself to the mind of a writer after the times of David.' Possibly in the early part of Josiah's reign the relations with Moab and Ammon were very hostile, and the feeling towards them exceedingly bitter, *comp.* 2K.xxiv.2, though at a later period numbers of fugitive Jews took refuge among the Moabites and Ammonites, Jer.xl.11.

117. v.4. *because they met you not with bread and with water in the way, when ye*

came forth out of Egypt, and because they hired against thee Balaam to curse thee.] This [*viz.* the first] offence was common to the two; the next one, the hiring of Balaam, seems from N.xxii.5, &c., to have been the act of the king of Moab only. But the Moabites and the Ammonites are to be regarded as clans of the same stock rather than as two independent nations, and as acting together in this as they did in other matters.

v.6. thou shalt not seek their peace nor their prosperity all thy days for ever,] lit. 'nor their good,' *i.e.* thou shalt not invite them to be on terms of amity with thee, nor make their welfare thy care. There is here no injunction to hatred or retaliation: *comp.* on the contrary, ii.9,19. Later history contains frequent record of hostility between Israel and the Ammonites and the Moabites. *p.*882.

Ans. The inaccuracy in the reference to Balaam shows that D. was not himself the writer of N.xxii, &c. to which he alludes; while the conflict between ii.29, where he says that the Moabites *did* supply the Israelites with bread and water, and xxiii.4, where he says they did *not* do so,—on which discrepancy Mr. ESPIN makes no remark, merely noting on ii.29, 'Cf. xxiii.3,4, and note,' *p.*809, and on xxiii.4 'Cf.ii.29,' *p.*882,—may perhaps be explained by reference to the later time at which D.i-iv was written (VI.28) and the kind treatment which many of the fugitive Jews at the time of the Captivity received from the Moabites, Jer.xl.11. On the other hand, the king of *Ammon* procured the assassination of Gedaliah, xl.14, *comp.* xli.10, 15, and the Ammonites may on this account have been excepted from the commendation in ii.29. But in ii.9,19, written probably during the Captivity, the Deuteronomist (Jeremiah) recognises the fact that both Moab and Ammon were still lords of their own lands, whereas Israel, though once their master, 2S.viii.2, xii.26, &c. was utterly powerless to recover possession of their territories.

118. *v.7,8.* The Edomites had indeed shown themselves unfriendly to Israel in refusing a passage through their land, N.xx.18, &c., but had not actively resisted them, and the tie of kindred was therefore to be respected, ii.8. The oppression of the Egyptians was perhaps regarded as the act of the Pharaohs rather than the will of the people, and at any rate was not to cancel the memory of preceding hospitality. *p.*882.

Ans. Probably the relations of the Israelites with Edom and Egypt were very friendly at the beginning of Josiah's reign when the passage before us was written, though no record remains of the fact with respect to Edom, but for Egypt *comp.* Jer.ii.18,36. Otherwise, it is difficult to account for such a marked distinction being here made between these nations and Moab and Ammon, more especially since Moab is put on the same friendly footing with Edom in ii.29, perhaps for a similar reason (117), and 'the memory of preceding hospitality' received in Egypt could hardly be expected to outweigh in the minds of the people the sense of their more recent miseries, from which they

had been delivered only by a succession of terrible judgments on their oppressors: *comp.* xxvi.6, 'and the *Egyptians*'—as in E.i.13, not 'the king of Egypt'—'evil entreated us and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage.'

119. v.12-14. The whole passage obviously refers not to the encampments of the nation whilst passing from Egypt through the wilderness, but to future warlike expeditions sent out from Canaan. *p.*883.

Ans. Of course, since this address is supposed to be made at the very end of the wanderings, this passage refers to future expeditions. But *à fortiori* some such a rule must have been needed in the wilderness, when they lived together at each place of encampment (N.xxxiii) for twelve months on the average, and had very limited supplies of water. Anyone who has heard the description from an eye-witness of the indescribable abominations, pestiferous stench, &c. at some parts of the diamond-diggings of South Africa, where 20,000 people are located within a moderate distance of a splendid river, will have a faint idea of what the Camp of Israel would have been, with two millions of people, and refuse and sewage of all kinds, which could not be disposed of as provided in the text for the particular occasion when a body of men goes out on a campaign.

Chap. xxiv.

120. v.6. A precept of like tenor with that in E.xxii.25,26.

v.7. Cf. E.xxi.16; v.10-13. Cf. E.xxii.25-27; v.17. Cf. E.xxii.21,22, xxiii.9.

v.8,9. On the laws relating to leprosy see L.xiii,xiv.

The allusion to Miriam, who disobeyed the ordinances of God, and was punished with leprosy for her rebellion, serves to point the injunction of v.8, *p.*885.

Ans. The references to E.xxi.16, xxii.21,22,25-7, xxiii.9, imply that D. had before him the legislation of the O.S., E.xx.22, &c.

But there is no allusion in v.8,9, to L.xiii,xiv. Miriam had not 'disobeyed the ordinances of God,' but had 'spoken against Moses because of the Cushite wife whom he had married, and had said, Hath Jehovah indeed spoken only by Moses? Hath He not spoken also by us?' And, as the Israelites in later days were not likely to offend in a similar way, it is clear that the writer cannot have meant to warn them against a repetition of Miriam's fault by reminding them that 'she was punished with leprosy for her rebellion.' Had not the Israelites often rebelled all along, D.ix.24, and were they ever punished with leprosy?

When, therefore, Moses says here, 'Remember what Jehovah did to Miriam in the way,' he seems to mean, 'Remember that even she was shut

out from the Camp seven days,' N.xii.14,15, because she was leprous: be careful therefore to follow the injunctions of the priests in respect of this dire disease; let your friends be secluded, or be secluded yourselves, if necessary.' Doubtless, from a very early time, among the Hebrews as among other nations, without any written law, leprous persons, like Uziah, 2K.xv.5, *comp.* 2K.vii.3, or persons suspected of leprosy, were thus secluded by the direction of the priests, who were consulted in such matters, and were supposed to have Divine authority to pronounce as to the character of the disease.

121. v.14, 15. Repeated and enlarged from L.xix.13. p.885.

v.19-22. Repeated in substance, from L.xix.9, &c., xxiii.22. p.886.

Ans. There is nothing to show which in these two sets of passages is derived from the other.

122. v.18. Cf. L.xix.33,34. The motive assigned in v.22 is the same as in v.18 and xvi.12. p.886.

Ans. It is clear that the idea here belongs originally to D. from the fact that the phrase 'thou wast a bondsman in Egypt,' recurs repeatedly in v.15, xv.15, xvi.12, xxiv.18,22, *comp.* vi.21, xxvi.6, and 'house of bondmen' in v.6, vi.12, vii.8, viii.14, xiii.5,10, and E.xiii.3,14, xx.2, J.xxiv.17, Jer.xxxiv.13, all due to D., whereas the L.L. never uses the latter expression, and only approximates to the former in L.xxv.42, xxvi.13.

123. v.1-4. Moses neither institutes nor enjoins divorce. . . . The verses before us plainly intimate that divorce, whilst tolerated for the time, contravenes the order of nature, and of God. The divorced woman who marries again is defiled,' v.4, and is grouped in this particular with the adulteress, L.viii.20. . . . Moses could not absolutely put an end to a practice which was traditional and common to the Jews with other Oriental nations. His aim is therefore to regulate and thus to mitigate an evil which he could not extirpate. . . . It must be added too that Moses withholds the right of divorce altogether where a man slanders his wife as unchaste, xxii.13-19, or seduces her before marriage, xxii.28,29.

The import of the expression 'some uncleanness,' *lit.* 'the nakedness or shame of a thing,' was a well-known theme of disputation between the schools of Hillel and Shammai. The former explained it, as the Pharisees seem to have done, Matt.xix.3, in a general manner, as equivalent to anything which made the woman unacceptable to her husband. And this certainly seems borne out by what is said in v.3, where it appears that the second husband might divorce merely on grounds of personal dislike. The other and rival interpreters regard the terms, which are used also in xxiii.14, as applicable to nothing short of immodest conduct or grave physical defect. . . . Whichever school be right, it is clear that the legislator felt himself constrained to leave in the husband's hands large powers as regards divorce. . . . The rights of the wife on her side are not forgotten. . . . The freewoman would certainly not be in a worse position than is secured in E.xxi.10 for the bondwoman. p.886.

Ans. Mr. ESPIN has greatly strained the meaning of the word 'defiled.' No doubt 'the divorced woman who marries again is grouped,' as defiled, 'with the adulteress,' but also with the childbearing or menstruating woman, L.xii.2,5, xviii.19, or with the priest or Nazarite in mourning for father, mother, brother, or sister, L.xxi.1-4,11, N.vi.7,9. She is here spoken of, however, as 'defiled' only as far as her former husband was concerned, so that *he* must not touch her: but that is all—no reproach whatever is insinuated against her for marrying again, which is quite regarded as a matter of course.

The 'withholding the right of divorce' in certain cases, xxii.13-19,28,29, shows that it was recognised by D. as perfectly lawful under ordinary circumstances, and clearly on grounds of mere dislike on the part of the husband, xxiv.3, or of something offensive on the part of the wife, xxii.14. The protection afforded to a female slave in E.xxi.10, that, if her master has used her as a concubine, and then, taking another to his bed, stints her of 'food, raiment, or rights of concubitus,' she may 'go out free without money,' is the only trace in the Law of any protection for the wife against the tyranny of her husband in this matter. 'The legislator,' indeed, 'has left in the husband's hands large powers as regards divorce.' But then, happily, it is a human legislator of the seventh century B.C., recognising and perhaps amending to the best of his judgment the practice of his own time, not a Divine Legislator, whose prescriptions should afford a model at least for the laws of all future generations.

And a similar remark applies to the 'law of levirate marriage' in xxv. 5-10, as to which Mr. ESPIN says—

It is obvious from G.xxxviii, where it appears as familiar and recognised on all hands, that Moses did not originate it; and in fact the rule in these verses, like those upon divorce, do but incorporate existing immemorial usages, and introduce various wise and politic limitations and mitigations of them. p.888.

124. v.5. *and have no child*] *lit.* 'no son.' But the existence of a daughter would clearly suffice, and so the Rabbins have always understood. The daughter would inherit the name and property of the father, N.xxvii.1-11. p.888.

Ans. The law in N.xxvii being part of the L.L., it may be a question whether before the Captivity 'the existence of a daughter would clearly suffice.'

Chap. xxvi.

125. v.2. The Firstfruits here in question are to be distinguished alike from those offered in acknowledgment of the blessings of harvest, E.xxii.29, L.xxiii.10-17, at the feasts of Passover and Pentecost, and also from the offerings prescribed in N.xviii.8, &c. The latter consisted of *preparations* from the produce

of the earth, such as oil, flour, wine, &c., whilst those here meant are of the raw produce: the former were national and public offerings, those of this chapter are private and personal ones. The whole of the Firstfruits belonged to the officiating priest. p.890.

Ans. How can it be said that the Firstfruits in N.xviii.8, &c. 'consisted of preparations from the produce of the earth, such as oil, *flour*, wine, &c.' when the firstfruits of *wheat* are expressly named in v.12, *comp.* also v.13, D.xviii.4, 2Ch.xxxi.5, whereas in Neh.x.37 the 'firstfruits of dough,' = first-made bread of the year, are expressly distinguished from the 'firstfruits of the ground,' v.35, as they are also in Ez.xliv.30? Certainly 'the whole of the firstfruits belonged to the officiating priest,' D.xviii.4, N.xviii.12,13; but this would not prevent D. directing that the offerers should take a basket-full of the firstfruits 'which he was bringing of his land,' and go through the ceremony here prescribed, more especially as the priest was to take the basket out of his hand, and set it down before the altar, v.4, and, no doubt, ultimately to keep its contents for himself. But in v.10 the *offerer* himself is to 'set down' the basket 'before Jehovah'; and this sign of inadvertence implies that this whole command about offering the basket of firstfruits, like others in Deuteronomy, is *imaginary*, expressing only the writer's pious feeling and his desire to kindle the same in others, without regard to actual practice. And indeed it can hardly be supposed that the words in v.5-10 were to be uttered by each individual with each offering of firstfruits.

126. v.12. Each third year the *second or vegetable* tithe, instead of being taken as in other years to the Sanctuary, was to be employed at home in hospitality and charity. . . . But this third year's tithe, though really only the ordinary *second* tithe diversely applied, is usually called the *third* tithe, Tob.i.7,8, JOSEPH. *Ant.* IV. viii.22. The seventh year being Sabbatical, and no tithes being payable in it, the 'third year, the year of tithing,' here alluded to, would be each *third* and *sixth* of the septennial cycle. As in each of these years the whole triennial series of tithe obligations would have been completed, the Israelite is appropriately called upon, 'when he had made an end of tithing the third year,' to make solemn profession before God that he had discharged each and all as they fell due and applied them as the Law appointed. p.891.

Ans. When Mr. ESPIN speaks of 'the second or *vegetable* tithe,' the reader might suppose that the first was exclusively an 'animal' tithe; whereas he means that the first, to be given to the Levites, was a tithe of *all* produce, animal and vegetable, and then a *second* tithe was taken of the vegetable produce, to be used in feasting by the offerer and his family, 'not forsaking the Levite,' for two years running at the Sanctuary and the third year at home. Why this '*second* tithe' should be called a '*third* tithe,' when eaten at home in the third and sixth years—or why the third year on that account should be called 'the year of tithing,' if the same first and second

tithes were paid every year except the seventh,—or what the Levites were to live on during the seventh year, ‘being Sabbatical and no tithes being payable in it,’ if they were to attend to their duties at the Temple, instead of wandering about the fields to gather food,—it is not easy to see. And it is quite plain that Tob.i.7,8, means nothing of the kind, but an actual ‘third tithe,’ which he gave away to the poor, either annually, as the text would naturally imply, or else every third year, as Josephus says, who (in the passage above referred to by Mr.ESPIN) introduces Moses as saying—‘*Besides these two tithes, which I have already said you are to bring every year, the one for the Levites, the other for the festivals, you are to bring every third year a tithe to be distributed to those that want, to widows also and to orphans.*’

But I have shown (*Intr.* 27) that the distinction drawn by Mr.ESPIN between the ‘first or Levitical’ and the ‘second or vegetable’ tithes is altogether erroneous, and that the Levitical tithe was to be exclusively vegetable, as implied in N.xviii.27,30, and stated plainly in Neh.x.37,38, xiii.5,12,—whence it follows that the ‘tithes of corn, wine, and oil,’ which D. orders to be consumed by the offerer and his family in feasting, ‘not forsaking the Levite,’ are the very same tithes which the L.L. assigns exclusively to the Levites.

Possibly the third year is here called by D. the ‘year of tithing,’ because in that year there was some chance of the tithes being spent in feasting, since the feast was to be kept *at home*; whereas it was more than doubtful if, in the other two years, they would be taken regularly to Jerusalem, either in kind or in money, to be consumed there apart (in most cases) from the family and household of the offerer.

It is possible that the difficult expression in Am.iv.4, ‘Come to Bethel and transgress, at Gilgal multiply transgression; bring your sacrifices every morning, *your tithes after three years*’ (A.V.),—for which, however, the LXX has εἰς τὴν τριήμεριαν τὰ ἐπιδικατὰ ὑμῶν, ‘your tithes for the three days’ feast’—may indicate an ancient custom of feasting on the tithes, at the Sanctuary, Bethel or Gilgal, either annually or triennially—upon which D. may have based his directions (VI.356).

Chap. xxvii.

127. The Law having been reiterated with special reference to the circumstances of the people when settled in the Promised Land, Moses in a third discourse, xxvii–xxx, proceeds more specially to dwell on its sanctions. *p.*892.

Ans. It is plain that this chapter is a later insertion. It interrupts the address of Moses, which is carried on from xxvi.19 to xxviii.1, these verses forming evidently part of the same context; whereas there is no connection

whatever between xxvii.11-26 and xxviii.1, nor, as the passage now stands is there anything to show who is speaking in xxviii.1.

128. *v.2. thou shalt set thee up great stones and plaister them with plaister.*] The stones here named are not those of which the altar was to be built, *v.4*, but are to serve as a separate monument witnessing to the fact that the people took possession of the land by virtue of the law inscribed on them and with an acknowledgment of its obligations. *p.893.*

Ans. The stones named in *v.2* are clearly the same as those in *v.4*, which are *not* those of which the altar was to be built, *v.5*. And the loose style of this passage is shown by its repeating *twice* the direction 'thou shalt plaister them with plaister,' *v.2,4*, and *twice* the words, 'and thou shalt write upon them all the words of this Law,' *v.3,8*; while its unhistorical character is evidenced by the fact that in *J.viii.30-32*, where *D. (VI.171)* records the fulfilment of this command, the Law is said to be written on the *stones* themselves, without any mention of their being plaistered. Moreover, in this chapter the writer *thrice* changes the speaker or speakers: in *v.1* we have 'Moses and the elders of Israel,' in *v.9* 'Moses and the priests the Levites,' in *v.11* 'Moses'—in each case addressing all the people.

129. *v.3. and thou shalt write upon them all the words of this Law.*] The words can only mean all the laws revealed from God to the people by Moses. In these would not be included the historical, didactic, ethnological, and other non-legislative matter comprised in the Pentateuch, but simply its legal enactments, regarded by the Jews as 613 in number. . . . The laws were probably graven in the stone, as are for the most part the Egyptian hieroglyphics, the 'plaister' being afterwards added to protect the inscription from the weather. *p.893.*

Ans. But clearly the 'plaister' in *v.2* is meant to be put on *before* the inscribing in *v.3*. And, in any case, what immense expenditure of time and labour would there have been in selecting and engraving the 613 commands of the Law! What large stones must they have been to contain them all! And what possible use could there have been in setting up these stones on Mount Ebal, which few would be likely ever to see after they were set up?

But the perplexity in which commentators find themselves, when they try to determine *what* was to be copied on these stones, as indicated by the expression 'all the words of this Law,' is sufficient to show that the whole proceeding existed only in the writer's imagination, and that he had not himself realised the performance of this command. Probably he *meant* the words of the original Book of Deuteronomy, *iv.44, v-xxvi,xxviii,xxix.1*, as he does in *xxviii.58, xxix.29, xxxii.46.*

130. *v.4. in Mount Ebal.*] The Sam. Pent. and Vers. read here *Gerizim* instead

of Ebal, and are followed by KENNICOTT, SEMLER, GEDDES, BOOTHROYD, COLENSO, &c. But the Hebrew MSS. and all ancient versions except the Samaritan (even the LXX which follows elsewhere the Sam. very closely) are unanimous, and far outweigh the authority of the Sam. The original text was probably, as nearly all modern authorities hold, altered in order to lend a show of scriptural sanction to the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim. *p.*893.

Ans. This question forms only a part of a more important one. Immediately after the Ten Commandments in E.xx.1-17 the Sam. Pent. has an addition very nearly identical with D.xxvii.1-8. However, for *Ebal* it has *Gerizim*, and instead of *v.*8, which idly repeats *v.*3^a, it has the passage which we find slightly modified in D.xi.30, defining the position of Mount Gerizim. The only other points of difference are these:—

(i) For *v.*2^a, ‘and it shall be on the day when ye shall pass over Jordan unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee,’ the Sam. has ‘and it shall be when the Lord thy God shall bring thee unto the land of the Cansanites whither thou goest to possess it,’ which suits better the time and circumstances under which the Decalogue is supposed to have been uttered.

(ii) It omits *v.*3^b, *i.e.* all after ‘all the words of this Law,’ as also the superfluous ‘and thou shalt plaister them with plaister’ in *v.*4.

Now is this a fabrication of the Sam. Pent., or a genuine portion of the original Heb. Pent.? It would seem that the weight of evidence is strongly in favour of its being genuine, as follows:—

(i) If it be genuine, it belongs, like the preceding context, E.xx.1-17, to D., and in that case it is easy to see what is meant by ‘all the words of this Law’ to be engraved on the stones, *viz.* the Decalogue just preceding, which is called ‘the Law’ in E.xxiv.12 by the same writer (VI.236); and there is nothing extravagant in supposing that those Ten Commandments were meant to be engraved on these stones instead of 613.

(ii) There was no reason why D., or any Jewish writer *before* the Captivity, should not have chosen the splendid Table-Mountain of Gerizim, in the very centre of the land of Canaan, and visible afar off, as the site on which these stones should be set up, in sight, as it were, of all the people of the land—more especially if Gerizim was the site of Abraham’s intended sacrifice, *D.B.* I.*p.*680, and ‘the smooth sheet of rock on the top of the mountain, with the cave beside it, was from the most ancient times a seat of primitive worship,’ STANLEY, *S. & P.*, *p.*238.

(iii) D. has actually chosen Gerizim as the Mount of Blessing, xxvii.12, on which Joshua was to take his stand with the principal tribes of Levi, Judah, Joseph, and Benjamin; whereas Ebal was to be the Mount of Cursing, *v.*13, on which the inferior tribes were to be stationed. As Mr. ESPIN says—

It is noteworthy that the group of tribes which stood on Gerizim far exceeded the other in numbers and in importance. *p.894.*

(iv) Though the two mountains are said by ROBINSON, *B.R.* III.*p.96*, to be 'equally naked and sterile, although some travellers have chosen to describe Gerizim as fertile, and confine the sterility to Ebal,' yet even he allows one exception in favour of Gerizim, 'a small ravine coming down opposite the western end of the town, which indeed is full of fountains and trees.'

(v) If the Samaritans interpolated the passage after E.xx.1-17, they must have copied it from D.xxvii.1-8, and in that case it is strange that they should have omitted the whole of v.3^b, with its very characteristic expression 'a land that floweth with milk and honey.'

(vi) The words which the Sam. Pent. substitutes for v.2^a are entirely in the style of D.: * so that the Samaritan interpolator must have tried to copy closely the style of D., and it is not easy to see why he went out of his way to do this, instead of copying the whole passage as it lay before him in D.xxvii.3^b.

(vii) On the other hand, there was every reason why the later Jews should wish to obliterate the sign of so much honour being done to Gerizim, on which the hateful Samaritan temple was built, as to make it the site on which the Ten Commandments were set up, inscribed on stones, as a perpetual Law for all Israel, and therefore first to cancel the passage after E.xx.1-17, and secondly to change 'Ebal' into 'Gerizim' in D.xxvii.4, though the pre-eminence has been inadvertently reserved to the latter in v.12, as D. assigned it. They seem to have shown a similar spirit in changing 'Moreh' in G.xxii.2 into 'Moriah,' it being almost certain that the mount of Abraham's sacrifice was Gerizim, 'beside the terebinths of Moreh,' D.xi.30 (II.325-6, III.761-3).

Upon the whole, then, it seems very probable that D. introduced this chapter, D.xxvii, at a later date, though by some accident it has been inserted very awkwardly in its present position, and that he has copied here, with modifications in his own style, his own former directions (with Gerizim instead of Ebal) from the end of the Ten Commandments in E.xx, repeating them at the end of his *expansion* of those Commandments in D.v-xxvi—(D.xxviii being only an exhortation, and not a part of the legislation in

* For 'land of the Canaanites,' see D.i.7, xi.30, and the entire passage, 'when Jehovah shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites,' occurs in E.xiii.5,11, also due to D. (VI.209), and nowhere else in the Pent.; for 'whither thou goest to possess it,' see D.iv.5, vii.1, xi.10,29, xii.29, xxiii.20, xxviii.21,63, xxx.16, also iv.14,26, vi.1, xi.8,11, xxx.18, xxxi.13, xxxii.47, J.i.11, xviii.3.

Deuteronomy)—without perhaps observing that in its present connection it is incongruous and impracticable, as, in fact, he never really contemplated its being actually carried out at all.

It will be seen that not only D.xxvii, but also D.xi.29,30, might be omitted without any injury to the context; and, in fact, the words 'blessing' and 'cursing' are there used in an entirely different sense from that which the words have in v.26,27,28. Probably these verses were inserted at the same time with D.xxvii, the words in v.30 being also repeated from his own former insertion after E.xx.1-17.

131. v.4. We must note too the fact that v.15, &c. set out verbatim the *curses* only, the blessings being omitted. The Law, because of man's sinfulness, brings on him first and chiefly a curse. p.893.

v.26. The blessings, as has been already observed, are not given. No doubt, when the solemnity was enacted by Joshua, they ran *mutatis mutandis* in the same formula as the curses, and they were probably delivered alternately with the several corresponding curses—'Blessed is he that maketh not any graven image,' &c. p.895.

Ans. The omission of the 'blessings' is another sign that the whole proceeding is imaginary. And we may note that the blessings, as well as the curses, though occurring 'in the same formula,' are given separately in xxviii.2-6, 15-19.

132. v.6,7, *burnt-offerings, peace-offerings*] as on the establishment of the covenant at Sinai, E.xxiv.5. p.893.

Ans. On our view D. had substituted the Decalogue for the series of older laws in E.xx.22, &c., and had very naturally provided in the original passage after E.xx.1-7 the same sacrifices as the O.S. had provided after the publication of those laws in E.xxiv.5.

133. v.12,13. The genealogical basis of the 'twelve patriarchs,' the sons of Jacob, is here assumed. The tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh are merged in the name of Joseph their father; and Levi, although the tribe is often spoken of in this book as having for secular purposes no part or lot with his brethren, regains on this occasion his place collaterally with the others. And thus, whilst 'the Levites' are in v.14 appointed to utter aloud, and no doubt in chorus, the commination and the benediction, we find, nevertheless, v.12, Levi amongst the tribes which had to make response.

'The Levites' of v.14 are, no doubt, 'the priests the Levites,' *comp.* J.viii.33, in whom the ministerial character attaching to the tribe was more particularly manifested. p.894.

Ans. It is incredible that, if the distinction between 'priests' and 'Levites,' as maintained in the L.L., was recognised in D.'s time, 'the priests the Levites, who bare the ark of the covenant of Jehovah' in J.viii.33—also due

to D.(VI.171)—should be here called simply ‘the Levites,’ *v.14*, more especially after mention of the tribe of Levi in *v.12*. This single fact is fatal to Mr. ESPIN’s theory on this point. No doubt, ‘the Levites’ in *v.14* are the ‘priests,’ i.e. the *officiating* ‘Levites,’ whereas those in *v.12* are the rest of the tribe.

Nor would Ephraim and Manasseh have been blended into one tribe, as here, by anyone who had before him the passages in L.L. in which they are so thoroughly distinguished, *e.g.* N.i.33,35, ii.19,21, xxvi.34,37. D. follows the guidance of the O.S., *e.g.* in E.i.2-4, xxiv.4.

134. *v.16-25*. Mr.ESPIN refers for these verses to various passages of the L.L., *e.g.* for *v.16* to L.xix.3, for *v.18* to L.xix.14, &c. But it is obvious that these latter may just as well be copied from the former.

But who are ‘all the men of Israel,’ to whom the ‘Levites’ are to address the curses, *v.14*, and ‘all the people,’ who are to ‘say Amen,’ *v.15-26*? According to *v.12,13*, six tribes are to bless and six to curse, and according to J.viii.34 *Joshua*—not the Levites—reads ‘all the words of the Law, all the blessing and the cursing,’ whereas in *v.33* we read ‘half of them over-against Mount Gerizim, and half of them over-against Mount Ebal, as Moses the servant of the Lord had commanded before that they should bless the children of Israel.’ It is plain that the directions are indistinct and defective, and the whole proceeding so loosely described, both in D.xxvii, and in J.viii, as to show that the account is imaginary and unhistorical.

Chap. xxviii.

135. A comparison of this chapter with E.xxiii.20-33 and L.xxvi. will show how he here resumes and amplifies the promises and threats already set forth in the earlier records of the Law. *p.895*.

Ans. No doubt, D. here ‘resumes and amplifies’ his own earlier words in E.xxiii.20-33 (VI.229). But, except a few expressions (VI.*App.*1.viii), which Ezekiel in L.xxvi appears to have borrowed from Jeremiah in D.xxviii, in which latter chapter ‘the language rises to the sublimest strains,’ *p.895*, as well as the general correspondence of ideas between two prophets of the same age, there is nothing in these two chapters (L.xxvi, D.xxviii) to indicate that they were written by the same hand.

136. *v.1-14*. As in the closing words of the exposition of the Law, xxvi.19, so here, exaltation is promised to Israel on condition of obedience. *p.895*.

Ans. Mr.ESPIN does not notice the fact that it does not appear *who is here speaking*. It is plain that *v.1* follows properly after xxvi.19, the address being interrupted by the insertion of xxvii.

137. *v.49*. *The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far.*] This, as other features of the description, apply [applies] undoubtedly to the Chaldeans, and in a

degree to other nations also whom God raised up as ministers of vengeance upon apostate Israel. But it only needs to read this part of the denunciation, and to compare it with the narrative of Josephus, to see that its full and exact accomplishment took place in the wars of Vespasian and Titus against the Jews, as indeed the Jews themselves generally admit.

v.49. the eagle] the Roman ensign: *comp. Matt.xxiv.28.*

v.50. a nation of fierce countenance.] So in the prediction of the Roman power, *Dan.viii.23.*

v.52. and he shall besiege thee.] This part of the prophecy received various minor fulfilments before the crowning accomplishment of it by the Romans. *p.899.*

Ans. Of course the words of this prophecy may be applied to any terrible invasion and siege such as the Jews suffered from the Romans as well as the Chaldæans. D. writes from his knowledge of the horrors which had been suffered under such circumstances in bygone times, *e.g.* by the Ten Tribes from Benhadad, *2K.vi.24*, and Shalmaneser, *xvii.5*, &c., by the Jews from Sennacherib, *xviii.13*, &c., and by other countries from their conquerors. It is not clear what nation he had in view as 'the nation from far, from the ends of the earth, of unknown tongue and fierce countenance.' Possibly they were the Scythian hordes, who in the early part of Josiah's reign over-spread Western Asia and advanced to the borders of Egypt, *HEROD. l.103*, &c., and seem to be referred to in Jeremiah's earlier prophecies, *iv.3-vi.30*, as the 'enemy from the north,' *iv.6, vi.1,22*, 'from Dan,' *iv.15*, 'from a far country,' *iv.16, v.15, comp.* especially with the passage before us, *v.15-17, vi.22,23*. If so, this judgment, though threatened, passed away.

In any case it is obvious that the words in *v.49*, 'as the eagle flies,' cannot possibly have any relation to the 'Roman ensign,' much less to the proverb in *Matt.xxiv.28*, 'Whosoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together;' nor could the Romans, who had long been masters of Judæa before the War broke out which ended in the destruction of Jerusalem, be very well spoken of as a 'nation from far, of an unknown tongue.' The simile is manifestly used to express the steady speed with which the enemy advances, *comp. Jer.xlviii.40, xlix.22*, where the identical figure occurs, see also *iv.13, Lam.iv.19*.

In *Dan. viii.23* the 'king of fierce countenance' is not 'a prediction of the Roman power,' but a description of Antiochus Epiphanes (*VII.440*).

138. *v.58. in this book]* *i.e.* in the book of the Law or the Pentateuch in so far as it contains commands of God to Israel. Deuteronomy is included, but not exclusively intended. So *v.61. p.900.*

Ans. The writer means the original Book of Deuteronomy, *iv.44, v-xxvi, xxviii, xxix.1.*

139. *v.68. there ye shall be sold.]* This denunciation was literally fulfilled on

more than one occasion—most signally when many thousand Jews were sold into slavery and sent into Egypt by Titus, but also under Hadrian, when numbers were again sold at Rachel's grave. p.901.

Ans. There is no reason to suppose that the words were meant to predict these occurrences, though doubtless 'this denunciation was literally fulfilled' on these and other occasions.

Chap. xxix.

140. v.1. This verse is added to the last chapter in the Hebrew text of most editions, and so . . . the Jewish authorities generally, who regard it, and probably correctly, as a recapitulation. p.902.

Ans. v.1 is evidently the close of the original Book of Deuteronomy.

141. v.6. Moses passes imperceptibly into an address as from God Himself, on whose behalf he was standing before the people; so in xi.13,14. p.902.

Ans. See also vii.4, xxviii.20, where the same phenomenon occurs, betraying the prophetic style of Jeremiah, *comp.* 2K.xvii.37,38.

142. v.29. *the secret things belong unto the Lord our God.*] The sense seems to be this—'The future, when and how these good and evil things will take effect, it lies with the Lord our God to determine; it pertains not to man's sphere and duty. His revealed will is that which we must carry out.' p.905.

Ans. Rather the meaning seems to be—'We know not what mercy may be in store for us in the secret counsels of Jehovah, how we shall be delivered out of this abyss of misery into which our sins have plunged us.' But our duty is plain to 'do all the words of this Law,' and He will assuredly in His own good time 'return and gather us out of all the nations whither He has scattered us,' xxx.3.

Chap. xxx.

143. The closing words of the address are words of comfort and promise. So when Moses had previously, iv.29, &c. L.xxvi.40, &c. denounced the judgments of God against apostasy, he adds similar predictions of the eventual conversion and restoration of Israel, *comp.* 1K.viii.46-50. p.905.

Ans. Ch.xxix,xxx, as well as i-iv,were inserted by D. at a later date than the main address, when the Captivity had begun, perhaps that of Jehoiachin, 2K.xxiv.10-20, eleven years after which came the final catastrophe. Accordingly we find in iv.29-31, xxix.24-28, xxx.1-3, distinct references to the heavy woes which had already fallen upon Judah (VI.31-33), and promises of restoration on repentance, just such as appear in Jer.xxix.13,14, *comp.* xxiv.5-7, with reference to the same Captivity. On the other hand, 1K.viii.46-50 by the same hand (VII.34) most probably refers to the Captivity of the Ten Tribes.

But Ezekiel in L.xxvi.40-45 has clearly behind him that terrible time,

when the whole land was left of its inhabitants, and 'enjoyed her Sabbaths while she lay desolate,' v.43.

144. v.3. The promises of this and the following verses had no doubt their partial fulfilment in the time of the Judges (!). But the fact that various important features of them are repeated in Jer.xxxii.11,37, &c. and in Ez.xi.19, &c. xxxiv.13, &c. xxxvi.24, &c. shows us that none of these was regarded as exhausting the promises. In full analogy with the scheme of prophecy we may add that the return from the Babylonian Captivity has not exhausted their depth. The New Testament takes up the strain and foretells the restoration of Israel to the covenanted mercies of God. . . . But whether the general conversion of the Jews shall be accompanied with any *national* restoration, . . . and further, whether there shall be any local replacement of them in the land of their fathers, may be regarded as of 'the secret things' which 'belong unto God.' . . . The letter of the verses before us and of the parallel passages seems indeed to point to both a national and a local return of Israel. p.906.

Ans. Jeremiah is merely predicting here the return of the Jews to their own land when God's chastisements should have had their due effect upon them, in exact accordance with his language in many parts of his prophecies, xxiii.3-8, xxix.10-14, xxxi.7-40, xxxii.37-44, xxxiii.7-26. In Ez.xi.19, &c. xxxiv.13, &c. xxxvi.24, &c. the idea is the same, but the style very different.

Chap.xxxi.1-13,24-30(D), 14,15,23(O.S.), 16-22(L.L.).

145. v.1. *Moses went and spake.*] The word 'went' must not be pressed. . . . This verb is frequently in Hebrew, as in English, prefixed to another verb with a kind of redundancy, *comp.* E.ii.1, Job i.4, and is so used here. p.908.

Ans. The word is probably not redundant here, nor in E.ii.1, Job i.4. But, if D.xxxi.1-8 was inserted after N.xxxii.42 in the O.S., before the original Book of Deuteronomy was written, the word would here be quite in its place.

146. v.2. *I am an hundred and twenty years old.*] The forty years of the wandering had passed since Moses, then fourscore years old, 'spake unto Pharaoh,' E.vii.7. p.908.

Ans. The age of Moses in E.vii.7 (L.L.) has been derived from this in D.xxxi.2, by *deducting* the forty years of the wandering; from this also the L.L. has derived the age of Aaron at his death 'one hundred and twenty-three,' N.xxxiii.39, and at the Exodus, 'eighty-three,' E.vii.7. D. has probably fixed in the passage before us 'a hundred and twenty years' for Moses—exceeding by 10 years that of Joseph and Joshua in the O.S., G.i.22, J.xxiv.29—as implying his extreme old age, which made him feel infirm and no longer equal to the work of leading the people, even if Jehovah had not forbidden him to cross the Jordan.

147. v.2. *I can no more go out and come in*] render *I shall not longer be able to go out and come in*. . . . Thus there is no inconsistency with xxxiv.7. Moses here adverts to his own age as likely to render him *in future* unequal to the active discharge of his office as leader of the people: the writer of ch.xxxiv. one of Moses' contemporaries, remarks of him that up to the close of his life 'his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated,' *i.e.* that he was to the last, in the judgment of others, in full possession of faculties and strength. p.908.

Ans. Without adopting Mr. ESPIN's rendering, there is no necessary contradiction between this passage and D.xxxiv.7, which latter, however, belongs on our view to L.L. (VI.130), and seems rather to imply a different view from that here expressed by D., as to the strength and activity of Moses at the end of his life.

148. v.9. *Moses wrote this law and delivered it unto the priests.*] This simply means that Moses now consigned to the charge of the priests the law which he had written. The first clause, though connected with the following one by 'and,' is (as often in Hebrew), subordinate to it. The point to be noted is that Moses now formally intrusted the law, which at God's command he had promulgated, and with the exception of the concluding clauses had already written out, to those who should be the regular and official guardians and teachers of it in future. He evidently did not actually transfer 'the book,' v.24, from his own hand to theirs until he had completed the writing as there described. p.909.

Ans. What are 'the concluding clauses' which Moses had not yet written? It is plain that the whole story, which requires such an explanation as the above, is unhistorical.

149. v.11. *thou shalt read this Law.*] It is not to be supposed that the whole of the Pentateuch was read, nor does the letter of the command require that it should be so. This reading could not be primarily designed for the information and instruction of the people, since it only took place once in seven years, but was evidently a symbolical transaction, intended, as so many others were, to impress on the people the conditions on which they held possession of their privileges and blessings. For such purpose a solemn and public reading of lessons out of the book of the Law (*i.e.* the Pentateuch) was all that was needed; and it is left by the text to the Jewish Church to rule details. p.909.

Ans. v.9-13 must have been inserted after the original Book of Deuteronomy was written, since it refers to the 'year of release,' xv.1-8, as also to the Feast of Tabernacles, xvi.13-16. Hence D. refers here to 'this Law,' *i.e.* 'the words of this covenant,' comp. iv.44, xxix.1, *viz.* the original Book, v-xxvi, &c., which he, no doubt, intended to be read at full length, as it probably was read by Josiah in the ears of the people, 2K.xxiii.2.

150. v.14-23. Moses and Joshua summoned to the tabernacle that God might 'give Joshua a charge,' *i.e.* the command which is given (perhaps in substance only) in v.23. This is the first occasion on which the tabernacle of the congrega-

tion [Tent of Meeting] is mentioned in Deuteronomy. This will not appear remarkable when we remember that the book thus far has consisted almost exclusively of addresses made by Moses to the people, and that the bulk of these is legislative matter. The transaction recorded in these verses may be regarded as the solemn inauguration of Joshua to the office to which he had some time before been called, N.xxvii.23, &c. and his recognition in it by God, which were manifested by his being summoned into the tabernacle with Moses whilst the Lord appeared in the pillar of cloud, N.xi.25, xii.5. p.909.

Ans. v.14,15, is evidently a part of the O.S. retained by D., since we find here 'the pillar of cloud standing at the entrance of the Tent,' as in E.xxxiii.9, N.xii.5, *comp.* xi.25, as well as other plain signs of connection with that document (VI.App.38). And v.23 belongs also to the O.S., and followed after v.14,15. As it stands now, the subject to the word 'gave,' in v.23 would be *Moses* in v.22, whereas it should be *Jehovah*, as Mr.ESPIN allows, '*he gave, i.e. the Lord gave,*' p.910, and as it would be but for the interpolation in v.16-21 which belongs to L.L. (VI.App.39), and which contains in v.19,22, in imitation of D. in v.26, an awkward reference to 'this Song' first mentioned by D. in v.28, and anticipates in v.22 the statement of D. in v.30.

It is plain that the address of *Moses* to Joshua in v.7,8, is only an expansion of the charge of *Jehovah* in v.23.

151. v.24-30. Moses completes the writing out of the book of the Law. . . The 'book' here spoken of would contain the whole Pentateuch up to v.24 of this chapter, and be the 'book of Moses' called generally by the Jews 'the Law.' p.911.

Ans. Perhaps this second notice about Moses 'writing' the Law—'when Moses had completed writing the words of this Law *until they were finished*'—together with 'the Song' which follows, *i.e.* xxxi.24-xxxii.43, may have been inserted when D. had completed the addresses in Deuteronomy, *i.e.* had inserted i-iv, xxix,xxx, after the Captivity of Jehoiachin had taken place (143). The strong expressions in v.29, xxxii.19-27,34-36,39-43, imply that 'evil' had already overtaken the people of Judah, for whom this 'Song of Moses' was really intended by the writer.

152. v.25. *The Levites which bare the ark* *i.e.* as in v.9, 'the priests the sons of Levi.' The non-priestly Levites could not so much as enter the Sanctuary or touch the ark, N.iv.15. Though in the journeys through the wilderness the ark was borne by the non-priestly Kohathites, yet on occasions of a more solemn and public character it was carried by the priests themselves. p.911.

Ans. It is obvious that here the expression 'the *Levites*' is used as meaning identically the same as 'the *priests* the sons of Levi' in v.9, that is, in the time of D. the 'Levites' were 'priests,' or might officiate as 'priests' if

they pleased, and there was no distinction between 'priests' and 'Levites' in 'bearing the ark' or in any other respect, as introduced by the later laws of the L.L.

153. *v.26. put it in the side of the ark*] rather, *by the side of the ark*. The two tables of the Decalogue were *in* the ark, 1K.viii.9; the book of the law was to be laid up in the Holy of Holies, close by the ark of the covenant, probably in a chest, 2K.xxii.8. *p.911.*

Ans. And here, no doubt, 'close by the ark,' it was found by Hilkiah. But how it had escaped notice altogether during the first seventeen years of a pious king, for five of which Jeremiah had been prophesying, is hardly to be explained, except on the supposition that it had been only just placed there, and probably by Hilkiah himself (*Intr.14*).

154. *v.27. how much more after my death.*] With these words Moses appears to have handed over the book written and completed by him to the priests. It would seem then that what is actually intended to be taken as transcribed by Moses in person ends in this place with *v.23*, and that *v.24* and the rest of the book (with the exception of the Song, *v.19*) must be regarded as a kind of appendix added after Moses' death by another hand; though the Blessing is of course to be regarded as a composition of Moses. *p.911.*

Ans. Unfortunately for the above hypothesis, the language of *v.24-30* is identically the same as that of D. elsewhere, and undoubtedly is not the work of 'another hand.'

Chap.xxxii.1-43,45-47(D), 44,48-52(L.L.).

155. *v.4.* The Hebrew word [רֶכֶּס, 'rock'] is frequently used in compounding proper names of the Mosaic time, *e.g.* N.i.5,6,10, ii.12, iii.35, &c. *p.592.*

Ans. The above references all belong to the L.L., which seems to have affected an archaic type in some points, and may have done so in this particular (VI.552).

156. *v.7. days.*] The plural form of this noun [יָמִים, here used] is archaic, and occurs only here and in the Psalm *attributed to Moses*, Ps.xc.15. *p.912.*

Ans. I know not on what authority this form is said to be 'archaic.' May it not be *poetical*—more especially as the usual form is always used elsewhere, not only in Deuteronomy, but throughout the Pentateuch?

Ps.xc, which in *v.10* fixes 70 or 80 years at most as the duration of human life—'the days of *our* years, &c.'—can hardly have been written by *Moses*, if he lived himself to the age of 120, and his brother, father, grandfather, and great-grandfather to the ages of 123, 137, 133, 137, respectively, D.xxxiv.7, E.vi.16-20, while Joshua lived to the age of 110, J.xxiv.29, and Caleb, when 85 years old, was as strong as ever, J.xiv.10,11.

157. *v.31. judges.*] The Hebrew word is a very rare and undoubtedly archaic one, occurring only in E.xxi.22. *p.915.*

Ans. The word (פָּלַל) may be 'archaic,' as it occurs in E.xxi.22: but it occurs also in Job xxxi.11, and פָּלַל in Is.xvi.3, and פָּלַל in Is.xxviii.7, Job xxxi.28, and the root פָּלַל, 'to judge,' in Ez.xvi.52, and in Ps.cvi.30, one of the latest Psalms. Hence it is probably used here *poetically*.

158. *v.32. their vine*] *i.e.* the nature and character of Israel. . . . This and the following verses must not (with SCHULTZ, &c.) be referred to the heathen enemies of Israel. Such a digression upon the faults of the heathen is quite foreign to the purpose of the Song. *p.915.*

Ans. Surely SCHULTZ, &c. are right, and 'their vine,' 'their grapes,' 'their wine,' in *v.32,33*, correspond to 'their rock' in *v.31*, and refer to the enemies of Israel.

159. *v.44-52.* These verses were, no doubt, added by the author of the supplement to Deuteronomy: *v.48*, &c. repeat the command already given, N.xxvii.12, &c. *p.917.*

Ans. *v.45-47* belongs to D., *v.44,48-52* to L.L. (VI.129).

160. Those who deny that Moses is the author of Deuteronomy of course include this chapter in their statements. . . . Many modern critics (EWALD, KAMPHAUSEN, &c.) have however confidently maintained that this Song was first written in the days of the Kings, subsequent to the revolt of Jeroboam, and was inserted by the still later Deuteronomist in his compilation. . . .

That the Song differs signally in diction and idiom from the preceding chapters is obvious, but proves nothing. That a lyrical passage should be conceived in modes of thought wholly unlike those which belong to narrative or exhortation, and be uttered in different phraseology, is ordinary and natural. . . . There are in the Song notwithstanding numerous coincidences both in thought and words with other parts of the Pentateuch, and especially with Deuteronomy. . . . A long list of them is given by COLENSO (III.799). Many, no doubt, are unimportant, but others are not so: and their critical weight altogether is more than enough to outweigh the presumption, in itself not very grave, of a difference of authorship drawn from a difference of style. *p.917.*

Ans. I thank Mr. ESPIN for recognising that my labours have rendered this slight service to the cause of Biblical Criticism—especially as it is the only instance of such generosity which appears in the whole of this Commentary.

161. The occurrence of Aramaisms in the Song is alleged by KAMPHAUSEN and others (*e.g.* שָׂדִים, *v.17*, תָּשִׁי from שָׁיָה, *v.18*, אֶפְתָּיָהם, *v.26*, אֲזַלָּה, *v.36*). Of these and other instances given, some are questioned by recent critics; and even were all certain, they would not furnish conclusive proof of the date assigned by EWALD, &c. For the canon laid down by KÖNIG, 'Aramaisms in a book of Scripture are a

token either of a *very early* or a *very late* composition,' is now generally accepted. . . The Aramaisms in question, then, are compatible with a Mosaic origin of the Song, and *possibly also with one dating after the reign of Hezekiah*; but they can hardly be so with the date suggested by KNOBEL, the reign of Ahab, *i.e.* the *tenth* century. p.918.

Ans. Whether 'Aramaisms are a token of a very early composition' and so 'are compatible with a Mosaic origin of the Song' or not, their existence in this Song accords at all events with our view that it was written 'after the reign of Hezekiah,' in the early part of Josiah's reign.

162. The resemblances between Ps.xc and D.xxxii have been rightly regarded as important: *comp.* especially 'the Rock' with v.1 of this Psalm, and D.xxxii.7, with v.1,15, of this Psalm, also v.4,36, of the former with v.16,13, of the latter. The manner and turn of thought of the Psalm are certainly also similar to those of the Song. Now BLEEK, remarking on the superscription of the Psalm, which calls it a 'Prayer of Moses,' says, 'There is no authentic reason for denying to the law-giver the authorship of this Psalm, and at all events it bears the stamp of very great antiquity. EWALD also grants the last part of this statement. p.918.

Ans. I have shown (156) that Ps.xc is falsely attributed to Moses. No doubt, there is some resemblance between this Psalm and D.xxxii; but, if sufficient to prove identity of authorship, it would only imply that Jeremiah had also written the Psalm.

And, in fact, EWALD does *not* 'grant the last part of BLEEK's statement,' *viz.* that Ps.xc 'bears the stamp of very great antiquity.' On the contrary, he says, Ps.p.91—'All certain characteristics of the times under Moses and David do not allow the possibility of such a poem being composed in so early a time. . . On the other hand, however, everything in this Psalm directs us to the age of the great prophets of the 9th or 8th century; and out of the 8th century comes also D.xxxii, which has a certain linguistic resemblance to this Psalm, though I regard the Psalm as more original and rather the model for D.xxxii.'

HITZIG, Ps.II.p.232, assigns this Psalm to 'a very late age'; HUPFELD, Ps.IV.p.2, 'possibly to the exile (KOSTER, MAURER), or some other time of oppression.'

163. But some who will not reject prophecy in toto, are nevertheless convinced that the Song must have originated at a far later epoch than that of Moses. It sets forth, they observe, a religious and political aspect of affairs which did not arise until after the disruption in the reign of Rehoboam, and even the decline of the Monarchy of the Ten Tribes. . . .

In reply, it must be said that other parts of Deuteronomy and the Pentateuch no less distinctly contemplate an apostasy, D.xxviii, L.xxvi, and that therefore the mere fact of such being referred to in this chapter proves nothing as to it in particular. Further, the apostasy is really named here in general and highly

poetical terms not as a possible, but as an accomplished event, in the manner common to the Prophets. *p.*918.

Ans. D.xxviii is due to the same author as D.xxxii, though written in the beginning of Josiah's reign and D.xxxii after the Captivity of Jehoiachin, in which age probably L.xxvi. was also written. In all these passages the writers (Jeremiah and Ezekiel) speak, no doubt, of the apostasy as 'an event accomplished,' 'in the manner common to the prophets.'

164. The like remarks apply to the political allusions. No doubt, these assume that the people has passed through an era of prosperity and success, and has reached one of disaster and subjugation. Yet the description contains no single trait which can fairly be said to imply a personal knowledge either of the Syrian or Assyrian victories over Israel. Indeed, the fact that the close of the Song holds out to Israel, and, be it noted, not to a portion of Israel, but emphatically to Israel as a whole, a lively hope of revenge and recovery, seems, on the ground of the 'higher criticism' at least, to refute at once the usual hypothesis of the critics of that school themselves; for in the closing years of the kingdom of Samaria such triumphs could hardly be dreamed of by any discerning patriot against the overwhelming might of Assyria. And yet it is just to those years that they ascribe the origin of the Song. *p.*918.

Ans. We 'ascribe the origin of the Song' to a time after the Captivity of Jehoiachin and perhaps before the final catastrophe. And the fact that it promises 'emphatically to Israel as a whole a lively hope of revenge and recovery,' agrees precisely with the tone of Jeremiah's prophecies, *comp.* Jer.xxx,xxxi,xxxiii.

165. That this Ode must on every ground take the very first rank in Hebrew poetry is universally allowed. The rationalist critics, however, have no better explanation to offer about its origin than that 'the Deuteronomist,' a compiler supposed to be living in the years immediately preceding the Babylonish Captivity, 'found' it, an anonymous document of more than a century old, the production of some forgotten author belonging to the northern kingdom, and incorporated it into his work, inventing by way of accounting for its insertion the statements of xxxi.16-30. Such a conjecture is most unlikely on the face of it, and is a supposition such surely as no one would maintain about this splendid poem, unless he had adopted it on grounds other than those found in the Song itself, and had to defend it to the utmost at all hazards. *p.*919.

Ans. The above remarks are wholly irrelevant as regards the view expressed by me in (III.801), *viz.* that this Song is due to D. himself, who was no 'compiler,' but an original writer of great power, 'living in the years immediately preceding the Babylonish Captivity,' and who not merely revised and enlarged the Original Story, but added the Book of Deuteronomy.

Chap. xxxiii.

166. A comparison with G.xlix will show how the blessings uttered by Moses over the several tribes partly repeat, partly enlarge and supplement, and sometimes modify or even reverse, the predictions of the dying Jacob. . . . This chapter, in striking contrast with the last, is pervaded by a tone of happy augury. It is indeed fitting to use auspicious words in a leavetaking; but the total absence of warning and reproof has been rightly noted as indicating that Moses is here speaking of the *ideal* Israel, of the people of God as they might and would have been, but for their perverseness, rather than foretelling what would in fact be the fate and fortunes of the Twelve Tribes. p.920.

Ans. If 'Moses is here speaking of ideal Israel, of the people of God as they might and would have been, &c.,' it is curious that he says not a single word about *Simeon*. Certainly the writer, probably a contemporary of D. (VI.135), has an 'ideal' Israel in view, but such as his own imagination pictured in the future, with special reference to the language of G.xlix, from which he has clearly borrowed. I have shown, in fact, in (VI.132) that there is no period in the history, from the Exodus downwards, at which the circumstances of the three principal tribes, Judah, Levi, and Joseph, could have been described as existing *simultaneously* such as they are here depicted.

167. v.1. *Moses the man of God.*] The occurrence of the title here is, no doubt, a token that the Blessing was not, as was the Song, transcribed by Moses himself.

v.4. *Moses commanded us a law.*] Though Moses probably did not transcribe this Blessing, yet he probably uttered these words, although he himself is thus referred to in the third person. The inspired writers, speaking less their own words and in their own person than in the name and words of the Spirit which moved them, frequently refer to themselves in this objective way, *comp.* N.xii.3, Ju.v.15, Ps.xxi, throughout. *In the word 'us' Moses identifies himself with the people (!)* p.921.

Ans. Here it is *assumed* that N.xii.3 is written by Moses and Ju.v.15 by Deborah—for Ps.xxi, in which the king praises and prays for himself, is not to the purpose—in order to prove that this passage is written by Moses, who says '*Moses commanded us a law*,' and includes himself in 'us'!

Probably the writer of v.1 was also the author of v.4 and of the whole Blessing.

168. v.5. *he was king*] rather *he became king*, *i.e.* the Lord, not Moses, who is never spoken of as a 'king.' p.921.

Ans. Clearly the Hebrew words mean 'he was king,' not 'he became king (הָיָה מֶלֶךְ),' and the writer speaks of Moses as king in Jeshurun (LUTHER, CALVIN, GROTIUS).

169. *Let Reuben live and not die and let not his men be few.*] The verse thus promises that the tribe shall endure and prosper, and its tenor is in contrast with that of G.xlix.3,4. Yet it must be noted that the tribe had decreased since the Exodus, *comp.* N.i.21 with xxvi.7, and also that in later times its numbers, even when counted with the Gadites and the half of Manasseh, were fewer than that of the Reubenites alone at the census of N.i, *comp.* 1Ch.v.18. The blessing of the text seems therefore to be so worded as to carry with it a warning. p.921.

Ans. It is difficult to see how this blessing 'promises that the tribe shall endure and prosper.' On the contrary, it expresses but a faint hope for Reuben; and if, as Mr.ESPIN says—

the recently discovered Moabite stone proves that the cities assigned to the Reubenites by Joshua were for the most part wrested, partly or wholly, from them by the Moabites, p.922—

we are told that *after* Mesha's time Hazael smote the Reubenites, 2K.x.32, 33, and this is the last glimpse which we get of Reuben in the Scripture history.

The data of the Chronicler are, of course, fictitious, as well as those of the L.L. in N.i,xxvi: but in 1Ch.xii.37, Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh are said to have sent 120,000 warriors to help David, which *exceeds* the whole muster of these tribes in N.i, *viz.* 46,500 + 45,650 + 16,100 = 108,250.

170. v.6. The tribe of Simeon, which would according to the order of birth come next, though of course comprehended in the general blessing bestowed upon the whole people, v.1-5, 26-29, is not here named. This omission is explained by reference to the words of Jacob concerning Simeon in G.xlix.7. This tribe with Levi was to be scattered in Israel. The fulfilment of this prediction was in the case of Levi so ordered as to carry with it honour and blessing; but no such reversal of punishment is granted to Simeon. Rather had this latter tribe added new sins to those which Jacob denounced. Accordingly, though very numerous at the Exodus, it had surprisingly diminished before the death of Moses, *comp.* N.i.22,23, with N.xxvi.12-14, and found eventually an adequate territory within the limits of Judah, J.xix.2-9. p.922.

Ans. Mr.ESPIN has not noticed that the favoured tribe of Levi, which moreover was not laid under the ban in N.xiv.29,35, only increased by 1,000 during the wanderings, N.iii.39, xxvi.62, even reckoning 'all the males from a month upward;' whereas, according to ordinary calculations, the males above twenty should have increased by nearly 1,000 annually (VI.461, note)!

Of course, these data of the L.L. are fictitious. But on this subject of the omission of Simeon see (III.814-7, V.206-9, VI.ch.xvi.note ¹¹⁹), and also (V. *App.i*), where are given the arguments of Prof.Dozy of Leyden, which tend to show that a body of Simeonites, who migrated in the days of Hezekiah, 1Ch.iv.39-43, founded the sanctuary of Mecca, and introduced

the worship which prevailed there before the time of Mahomet. They had evidently long disappeared as a tribe, beyond all hope of recovery, at the time when this 'Blessing of Moses' was written.

171. v.7. *Hear, Jehovah, the voice of Judah, and bring him unto his people; Be his hands sufficient for him, and be Thou an help from his enemies.*] Jacob had predicted glorious success in war to this tribe, G.xlix.8,9. Moses now, taking up, as it were, the promise of Jacob, prays that Judah, marching forth at the head of the tribes, might ever be brought back in safety and victory, and intimates that God would grant help to accomplish this. It is obvious that the words 'bring him unto his people' cannot have the sense attached to them by the rationalist commentators, 'bring back the tribes,' *i.e.* the ten tribes which revolted under Jeroboam, 'to him.' p.922.

Ans. The words may, and probably do, imply a hope—perhaps with an allusion to G.xlix.10, 'Unto him shall the gathering of *the people* be'—that Judah might come to rule again over the *whole people* of Israel, as was fondly expected by Jeremiah and those of kindred spirit, *comp.* Jer.xxxi. 1,4,6,8–12,33. But the meek, subdued tone of this petition contrasts strikingly with the bold, fiery utterance of G.xlix.8–12, and indicates the depressed condition of Judah at the time when it was written.

172. v.8–11. The contrast between the tone of this passage and that of G.xlix.5–7 is remarkable. Though the prediction of Jacob respecting the dispersion of this tribe held good, yet it was so overruled as to issue in honour and reward. . . . On *Massah comp.* E.xvii.1–7, on *Meribah*, N.xx.1–13. The two events thus alluded to, the one occurring at the beginning, the other towards the end, of the 40 years' wandering, serve to represent the whole series of trials by which God proved and exercised the faith and obedience of this chosen tribe. In conformity with the spirit of the chapter, the facts that Moses and Aaron failed under the trial at Kadesh, N.xx, and that some of the Levites were concerned in the rebellion of Korah, N.xvi, are passed over in silence. p.922.

Ans. The writer knew nothing about the 'trial at Kadesh' or the 'rebellion of Korah,' which belong to the L.L. And, in point of fact, E.xvii does not describe the *first*, nor N.xx the *last*, of 'the whole series of trials' in the wilderness, *comp.* E.xvi, N.xxv. Moreover, on the above view, Moses first refers in v.8 to E.xvii, then to N.xx, 38 years afterwards, and then goes back (apparently) in v.9 to E.xxxii, as Mr. ESPIN has himself indicated elsewhere, though here he takes no notice of the allusion in question—

Their zeal against the worshippers of the Golden Calf, E.xxxii.26–29, D.xxxiii.8, &c., gave them a distinct position, and led to their receiving as their reward the dignity to which they are now expressly named. p.657.

The writer is evidently alluding to the 'Massah' and 'Meribah' of

E.xvii. And the contrast between the exaltation of Levi in this passage and the language applied to that tribe in G.xlix.5-7 corresponds to the condition of the Levites, *i.e.* of the priests, in the later and earlier years of the Monarchy.

173. v.12. *he shall dwell between his shoulders*] *i.e.* be supported by God, as a son who is carried by his father, i.31. The change of subject in this verse is not rare in Hebrew, *e.g.* 2S.xi.13, and is here the less difficult, because the suffix throughout the passage has but one reference, *viz.* to God. . . . To refer the words 'He shall dwell, &c.' to God, and to explain them of the Temple, which was afterwards built in the land of this tribe, as many commentators do, is far-fetched and harsh. p.923.

Ans. D.i.31 says nothing about a father carrying his son between his shoulders. And 2S.xi.13 is not at all a case in point; this is a poetical passage, and the construction would be 'difficult and harsh' if the subject to the verb 'dwell' is not the same as in the parallel clause—

'He (Jehovah) covers him all the day,
And between his shoulders He dwells'—

i.e. apparently 'Jehovah dwells' in the Temple, which lay in the middle of the southern boundary of Benjamin, like the head between the shoulders. And this is substantially the rendering of the Sam., LXX, and Onkelos, as well as 'many commentators.'

174. v.13-17. The resemblance of this blessing to that pronounced on the same tribes by Jacob, G.xlix.25,26, is obvious both in thoughts and words; and in both the exuberant fertility of the large districts allotted to the descendants of Joseph is a leading feature. Yet the words of Moses are far from being a mere reproduction of Jacob's. The patriarch dwells with emphasis on the severe conflicts which these tribes would undergo, G.xlix,23,24; the lawgiver seems to look beyond, and to behold the two tribes triumphant and established in their power. The utterances respecting Ephraim and Manasseh [Joseph] in these verses are such as are wholly unlikely to have proceeded from a writer of the kingdom of Judah, at the time assigned by the rationalist critics for the composition of Deuteronomy. p.923.

Ans. v.13,15,16, contain expressions which are evidently copied from the Blessing of Jacob (VI.App.42,N.B.). And this blessing may very well 'have proceeded from a writer of the kingdom of Judah' at a time when all rivalry had ceased and these tribes had been carried into captivity. But their *land* remained as rich and productive as ever, and the fond hope was cherished, as in Jer.xxxi, that 'the virgin of Israel should be built again,' v.4, and they 'should yet plant vines upon the hills of Samaria,' v.5, and 'the watchmen upon Mount Ephraim should cry, Arise, let us go up to Zion to Jehovah our God,' v.6, when Jehovah should bring back 'the remnant of

Israel from the north country,' and 'a great company should return thither,' v.7,8, 'for I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my firstborn,' v.9. Then might there be once more the 'thousands of Manasseh' and the 'ten thousands of Ephraim,' to 'push the people,' as of old, 'with the horns of a buffalo.'

175. v.21. *he provided the first part for himself.*] The firstfruits of the conquest made by Israel were assigned to Gad and Reuben by Moses at their own request.

because there, in a portion of the lawgiver, was he seated] render rather, *because there was the leader's portion reserved, i.e. there was reserved the fitting portion for Gad as a leader in war.*

And he came with the heads of the peop'e] i.e. he joined the other leaders to fulfil the commands of God respecting the conquest of Canaan, N.xxxii.17,21,32, J.i.14, iv.12. *Moses regards the promise of the Gadites to do this as already redeemed.* p.924.

Ans. The passage may be translated (VI.ch.xvi) as follows:—

'And he saw for himself the firstfruits,
For there was a leader's portion laid-up;
And he came to the heads of the people,
Jehovah's righteousness he did,
And His judgments with Israel.'

This agrees substantially with Mr. ESPIN's, except that he retains the English Version 'and he came *with* the heads of the people,' which the Hebrew will not allow (וַיָּבֹאוּ אֵלָיו): *comp.* Job iii. 25, where the same verb in the sense 'come to' is used in the same construction as here, without a preposition following. Gad 'came to the heads of the people,' and promised to cross the Jordan as the vanguard of the host, which promise he thoroughly carried out: he 'did the right thing in Jehovah's sight' and performed 'His judgments' with the other tribes of Israel.

The writer had evidently before him the story in N.xxxii, though he inadvertently makes Moses speak as if they had already fulfilled their engagement, contrary to the uncertainty expressed in N.xxxii.30. But this belongs to the L.L. (VI.123); and the above passage helps to confirm the view in (VI.117-123) that the O.S. in N.xxxii contained nothing such as we now find in v.6-15, but a simple proposal *emanating from the tribes themselves*, as in v.16-19; they 'came to the heads of the people.'

176. Many modern critics have argued that the Blessing of the Tribes cannot be really Mosaic on the same general grounds of style, literary characteristics, &c. as have been brought forward in reference to the Song of Moses. . . . It has, however, been specially objected to the Blessing that its contents in various places betray on the face of them an origin far later in date than the days of

Moses. There are, it is urged, unquestionable allusions in what is said of several of the Tribes to the different districts of Canaan which they occupied after the conquest of Joshua, *e.g.* in the Blessing of Zebulun and Issachar, *v.*19, of Naphtali, *v.*23, of Asher, *v.*24,25. These allusions have been by some attributed to that prophetic foresight which Moses undoubtedly possessed. Yet they may be probably explained without reference to it. For the location of the several tribes was fixed in a general way before the time at which the Blessing is represented as spoken, N.xxxiv.16; and Moses, as having lived for many years at the very borders of Canaan and in frequent intercourse with its inhabitants and neighbours, must undoubtedly have possessed some knowledge of the topography of the country which was to be the future home of his people. The allusions in question are of a general kind, and quite consistent in character with a knowledge so acquired. *p.*925.

Ans. But the appointment of the land by lot, which is merely *commanded* in N.xxxiv.16–29, was not to be carried out till Joshua's time, so that 'the location of the several tribes' was not 'fixed' at all till after the death of Moses, J.xiv.1, xix.51. It is true Mr.ESPIN says on N.xxxiv.16–29—

The order in which the tribes are named is peculiar to this passage. If they be taken in pairs, Judah and Simeon, Benjamin and Dan, Manassah and Ephraim, Zebulun and Issachar, Asher and Naphtali, the order of the pairs agrees with the order in which the allotments in the Holy Land, taken also in couples, followed each other in the map from south to north. *p.*783.

And, no doubt, the L.L. had this 'order' in view in this 'peculiar' arrangement of the tribes in N.xxxiv. But not a word is said in that chapter to imply that they were to be thus located; and, if the order was fixed beforehand in which they were to be settled, what would have been the use of directing that they should be 'divided by lot'? For, as Mr.ESPIN says—

The *positions* of the several inheritances were to be determined by lot . . . the limits of each were to be marked out after the lot had determined to which tribe it belonged. *p.*783.

It is plain that the writer of D.xxxiii had a general knowledge of the specialties which distinguished the territories of the different tribes, such as could not have been acquired by Moses (except of course through 'prophetic foresight'), but would naturally be possessed by an intelligent person living in the last period of the Monarchy.

177. The utter uncertainty of the grounds on which such objections rest is demonstrated by the very diverse and totally inconsistent conclusions deduced from them. Thus KNOBEL refers the Blessing to the days of David, while GRAF, followed by BLEEK, proposes the reign of Jeroboam II., B.C. 825–785. The main reason for selecting this particular period is the admission, which the critics are constrained to make, that the Blessing must have been composed at a time when

all the Twelve Tribes [? Simeon] *were still abiding in their places in Canaan, and enjoying a high degree of material prosperity.* But the reign of Jeroboam II. hardly satisfies these conditions. That time was certainly marked by considerable recovery; but such passages as 2K.xiv.26, and the tenor of the utterances of Amos respecting the condition of the northern kingdom at this very date, are inconsistent with any *such happy circumstances as the Blessing confessedly supposes.* Indeed it is little likely that the two tribes and a half on the east of Jordan ever recovered from the calamities inflicted by Hazael, 2K.x.32, &c. Still more improbable is the opinion of MAURER and HOFFMANN, who place the Blessing in the days of Jehoiachin, B.C. 599, and explain v.7 as referring to the large number of Jews who were then carried away from Jerusalem to Babylon, 2K.xxiv.10, &c. . . . *The Blessing speaks throughout of peace and plenty.* p.926.

Ans. The last-mentioned 'still more improbable opinion' is apparently the correct one. There is no time in the history of Israel which will suit the Blessing in all its parts. It is therefore an *ideal* Blessing, or, as Mr. ESPIN says (166), 'Moses is here speaking of an *ideal* Israel;' and the signs of 'a high degree of material prosperity,' 'happy circumstances,' and 'peace and plenty,' which Mr. ESPIN finds in it, refer to an imaginary future which the prophet predicts; whereas the petition for Judah and expressions about Benjamin—the *only real parts of the Blessing*, since these were the only tribes then in existence in Canaan—betray the actual circumstances of the time, as for the present depressed, though for the writer full of hope.

There is therefore no substantial reason in the contents of the Blessing for questioning that conclusion to which many verbal characteristics of the chapter point, *viz.* that it is by the same author as ch.xxxii, to which it has an evident relationship, *i.e.* by Moses. p.926.

Ans. In (VI. *App.*42) is given an Analysis of this chapter. There are resemblances to the style of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah sufficient to show a 'relationship' to the Deuteronomist, *e.g.* as proceeding from the same prophetic circle; but there is hardly proof of identity of authorship. There are, however, some expressions in this chapter which closely resemble the language of the prophet Habakkuk, Jeremiah's contemporary, *comp. v.2* with Hab.iii.3,4,—*v.15* with Hab.iii.6—*v.29* with Hab.iii.19; and the abruptness in style is very similar in both. It is conceivable that Habakkuk (B.C. 599) may have composed this Blessing, which has been adopted by his friend the Deuteronomist (Jeremiah).

Chap.xxxiv.1-4,7-9(L.L.), 5,6,10(O.S.), 11,12(D).

179. v.1. *all the land of Gilcad unto Dan.*] This can hardly be the Dan (Dan-Laish) of Ju.xviii.27, &c. which was not in Gilead. It is probably a town of this

name which stood in the north of Peræa, perhaps the same as Dan-Jaan, 2S.xxiv.6, and the Dan of G.xiv.14, p.927.

Ans. This is said in order to meet the objection that the name 'Dan' was not given to Laish till long after the time of Moses, and even after that of Joshua, Ju.xviii.29, so that the use of that name both here and in G.xiv.14 involves an anachronism and implies a later writer. But there is no ground whatever for Mr.ESPIN's assumption: and so KURTZ candidly admits—(*History of the Old Covenant*, III.p.522)—'In (I.xliv.2) I adopted HENGSTENBERG's explanation, that the Dan of the Pentateuch was the same as the Dan-Jaan of 2S.xxiv.6, and denoted a very different place from the ancient Laish. But a closer examination has convinced me that the very same Dan is alluded to in the Pentateuch and 2S.xxiv.6, as in J.xix.47 and Ju.xviii.29.'

In fact, it is not said here that Dan was 'in Gilead,' as Mr.ESPIN assumes, but only that Moses 'saw the whole land, Gilead as far as Dan,' where Gilead is evidently used in a general sense for the *whole* district east of Jordan, as in N.xxxii.26,29, J.xxii.9,13,15,32, which would not otherwise have been viewed by him at all. His eye, therefore, is supposed to have ranged round through Gilead to Dan at the extreme north of Canaan, then to have gone round southward, taking in the proper order Naphtali, Ephraim, Manasseh, Judah, &c., as Joab and his party do in 2S.xxiv.5-7.

Of course the fact that here portions of the land of Canaan are familiarly mentioned as 'all *Naphtali*, and the land of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, and all the land of *Judah*,' would also involve an anachronism, if Moses were supposed to be the author of this chapter. But Mr.ESPIN assigns it to 'one of Moses' successors,' p.928.

180. v.4. *I have caused thee to see it.*] The sight thus afforded to Moses, like that of 'all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time,' Luke iv.5, was no doubt supernatural. Yet it was not imaginary only, but a real view of the land, obtained perhaps through an extraordinary enhancement of the dying lawgiver's power of vision. p.927.

Ans. If a *miracle* was needed, why was Moses ordered to climb to the summit of Mount Nebo at all? The same power which enabled him to see—not merely places afar off, but—places that must have been hidden from his sight by intervening mountains and the earth's spherical form, might have enabled him to see the same without making the painful ascent from the plains of Moab to the top of Pisgah.

181. v.5. *according to the word of the Lord*] *lit. at the mouth of the Lord*, which the Rabbins explain 'by a kiss of the Lord.' But the sense of the phrase is clear, G.xlv.21. . . . It denotes that Moses died, not because his vital powers were exhausted, but at the sentence of God and as a punishment for his sin, xxxii.51. p.928.

Ans. xxxii.51 belongs to the L.L.: the phrase means no more than 'by the will of God,' without any reference to 'punishment for sin,' *comp.* N.iii. 16,39,51, iv.37,41,44, &c.

182. v.6. *he buried him*] *i.e.* *God buried him.* The penalty of Moses' sin was fully paid by his death; and this signal honour conferred on him after death was, doubtless, designed to sustain the lawgiver's authority, which without it might have been impaired with the people in consequence of his punishment. p.928.

Ans. There is not a shadow of ground for the above explanation. The word 'Jehovah' cannot be the subject of the verb 'buried' in v.6, in accordance with the usual rules of Hebrew construction. But 'he buried' is the usual impersonal form = 'one buried,' and the identical phrase occurs in 2K.xxi.26, 'And (he) one buried him (Amon) in his sepulchre, &c.' where the E.V. has very properly, as it should be here, 'And he was buried in &c.' No doubt, the writer meant that Moses was buried by the children of Israel, though all knowledge of the place of his sepulchre was lost.

183. v.6, *no man knoweth of his sepulchre.*] Hardly lest the grave of Moses should become an object of superstitious honour, for the Jews were not prone to this particular form of error. Bearing in mind the appearance of Moses at the Transfiguration, and what is said by St. Jude, v.9, we may conjecture that Moses after death passed into the same state with Enoch and Elijah, and that *his sepulchre could not be found because he was shortly translated from it* (!) p.928.

Ans. Jude 9 repeats a Jewish old wives' fable about 'Michael the archangel disputing with the devil about the body of Moses,' and it will not help us much to 'bear it in mind' on the present occasion. Mr.ESPIN here boldly assumes the translation of Moses, without one word in the text to warrant it.

184. v.10 *there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses.*] Words like these can only have been written some time, but not necessarily a long time, after the death of Moses. . . . They may naturally enough be attributed to one of Moses' successors, writing perhaps soon after the settlement of the people in Canaan. p.928.

Ans. v.10 belongs to the O.S.(VL130), as appears from the expression 'whom Jehovah knew face to face,' *comp.* E.xxxiii.11; N.xii.8.

